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Main works-

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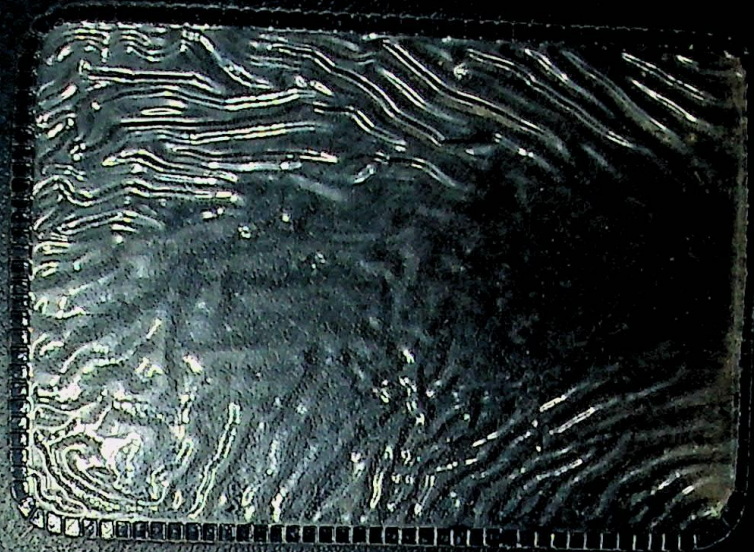
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Terrorism - A Synopsis

A Case Study of Anti Terrorism operations in Rajouri and Poonch districts of J&K State

Terrorism and Media

Youth and Terrorism

Law and Order Administration Special Reference

# ਸੈਮੀਨਾਰ

## ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਤਰਦੇ ਝੁਕਾਓ

### 9-10 ਮਾਰਚ 1994

### ਪੱਤਰ-ਵਿਹਾਰ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਵਿਭਾਗ

### ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ।



TERRORISM

A SYNOPSIS

In to-day's context, the cult of terrorism poses the main threat to National Security. Terrorism is not new to Society. Its origin can be traced to the activities of a religious sect known as "SACARII" which was ~~to~~ active in Palestine, during the first century A.D. Terrorism has been manifest in various countries during the past few centuries and ~~has~~ now come to stay. Now many societies and States are ~~affected~~ by Terrorism the world over.

TERRORISM IN PUNJAB:

1. In this paper, I propose to confine myself mainly to ~~the~~ terrorism as it has manifested in Punjab. Terrorism in Punjab is said to be due to alienation or hurting of Sikh psyche. It is also said to be due to the alleged threat to the religious identity of Sikhs. Various theories are advanced to ~~explain~~ alienation or hurting of Sikh psyche. We can talk about it a little later.
2. Terrorism in Punjab is said to have grown with the rise of the Bhindrawale cult. While this may be true, the alienation of Sikhs started with the demand for linguistic division of States. ~~Hindus~~ in Punjab declared Hindi to be their mother tongue though Punjabi is actually the mother tongue of most ~~Hindus~~ in Punjab.

Contd....2)



3. In the growth of terrorism in Punjab, the year 1983 could be considered the cut off date when Punjab witnessed killing of senior Police Officers, massacre of bus passengers etc. With this, the violence in Punjab became the classical type. The murder of D.I.G. Sri Atwal was the bold challenge thrown by terrorists to the authorities. This was a turning point in the history of Punjab terrorism as the authorities did not choose to give a fitting response. The next turning point was the looting of the Ludhiana Bank. This enabled the terrorists to purchase sophisticated fire-arms. The change over to AK-47 in the middle of 1987 was a sinister development. With AK-47, terrorists could kill a large number of people in a very short time and at one place and thereby create panic.

4. Rocket launches were introduced for the first time in 1988. Terrorists also began to use explosives about the same time. As terrorists gained experience, they *improved* ~~developed~~ their weaponry and their strategy.

5. The terrorist problem in Punjab is indeed a complex one, caught as it is in the web of religion and politics. Added to this is also the economic aspect, <sup>eg.</sup> Fragmentation of land holdings. Whether one likes it or not, religion and politics are inter-mixed in India and this is much more evident in a state like Punjab. The terrorist problem is also an inter-play of forces, national and



inter-national and the problems has its roots not only in India but also elsewhere, across the Border. There is also the close nexus between terrorism, smuggling, narcotics and corruption. There is also the unseen blessing of foreign powers without which effective smuggling of narcotics and weapons would be rather difficult. Without foreign support, no terrorism can survive easily. Fortunately, for India it has strong administrative and military traditions. Khalistan as an ideology at present is far removed from the minds of people in Punjab, whether Hindus or Sikhs.

6. Creation of panic is the essence of terrorism. Terrorists try to attract media attention so that the problems can be focused in greater measure. This naturally causes grave concern in the minds of people, inviting even in some cases global attention. There is an impending tendency to escalate violence. This is borne by the fact of media coverage in large scale or gruesome incidents. Take the case of the Air India Kanishka sabotage for example.

7. In spite of the fact that terrorism in Punjab has continued for the last few years, the Hindu-Sikh amity is not completely disturbed, though one can discern an emotional divide. This is in spite of the fact that there is continued social inter-course and intermingling, though not on the same scale as in the past. At the same time, it has to be realised that

.....4)



the Sikhs have become a self conscious minority and they increasingly refuse to believe, at-least for the purpose of argument, that they are an off-shoot of a larger Hindu community. There is also the alleged cumulative grievances of the community, but many of these cannot stand an objective scrutiny. The Sikhs are not economically disadvantaged and compared to the position in the rest of the country, Punjab is much more advanced. It will be impossible for any Government to meet all the so-called grievances, more imaginary than real. Grievances have the tendency to feed on themselves and the more concessions granted, the more grievances are likely to arise. *etc* This has to be viewed in the political context emerging in Punjab, where communal sentiments are sought to be exploited. However, it cannot be denied that there is a close inter-dependence between the two communities and economy of Punjab is a product of the Joint endeavour of Hindus and Sikhs. The demography of Punjab is such that Sikhs have in reality, only a marginal superiority in terms of population. The Hindus account for nearly 46% of its population. Whereas the Sikhs dominate the villages, the Hindu concentration is in the towns. The major towns have larger Hindu population like in the case of Ludhiana where 65% of population is Hindus.

....5)



Amritsar itself has a population of 50% Hindus. Whereas most of the agriculturists belong to Sikh community, the concentration of Hindus is in industry, trade and commerce and the rest of it. It is also wrong to believe that the Sikhs form a very homogenous group. The scheduled caste Sikhs for e.g. form 20% of the Sikh population and thus far there has been no easy assimilation of these people into the mainstream of Sikh life.

8. There is a wrong impression outside Punjab that the terrorists only kill the Hindus, leaving the Sikhs alone. If one analyses the number of killings during the year 1988, it would be seen that 60% of the people killed <sup>were</sup> are Sikhs. ~~The terrorist killings assume two~~  
~~Sikhs.~~ The terrorist killings assume two postures; (i) killing of Hindus could either be specific or random in character and (ii) in the case of Sikhs the killing is specific.

9. At the time of imposition of President's Rule in Punjab in May, 1987, the administration had to grapple with two kinds of terrorism; (1) which was fundamentalist, where people were told to lead a particular way of life, to dress in a particular manner, to observe particular customs, to shun meat, liquor and tobacco and the placing of ~~in~~ some other types of restrictions. Many people were affected by this edit and more Sikhs were affected by these than anybody-else.



There were killings if the fundamentalist commands were not obeyed. That was one kind of terrorism. This is again in evidence now. Terrorists have declared that meat, liquor, tobacco etc. shall not be sold in holy places like Amritsar. (2) The other kind is what we are witnessing today. There was a time when the terrorists struck first and then the police reacted. But with large scale induction of security forces and with their stabilization in the areas, the security forces have started acting instead of reacting to situations. Thus the security forces' morale has gone up even though there is some loss of lives, which is inescapable in such a contingency. The terrorists have to be fought at the grass-root level. There is also the fact that the terrorists are not united and they are split into several groups. There is no terrorist leader in Punjab to-day who has full control over the 5 well known groups, eventhough these groups are being funded, aided and guided by people outside. One of the major objectives appear to be to create an out-cry and cause concern in the minds of people, to create confusion by aimless murderings and also thereby provoke retaliatory violence. One can imagine the outcome of emotional out-bursts leading to retaliatory violence. It has to be said <sup>to</sup> the credit of the



politicians and the people that their response has been quite positive and on the whole they have been behaving excellently. There has been no retaliatory violence. Retaliatory violence can only help terrorists and no one else.

10. The terrorist killings can be divided into many a parts:-

(i) *To create panic*

(1) Money is the root of terrorist killings.

These can arise out of ~~the~~ contracts to eliminate rivals.

(2) Killings as a result of inter-gang warfare. Feuds can sometime result in killings because the distribution of the loot may be unfair.

(3) Killings of harbourers. If there is a suspicion that they have informed the Police as a result of which some members of their gang have been killed. In such a case the entire family is wiped off.

(4) Killings connected with robbery and dacoity.

(5) To settle personal scores.

(6) Though the ideological basis is very thin, killing out of ~~a~~ fundamental and ideological beliefs.

~~(7) Killing to create panic.~~

....8)



- (i) There cannot be any Khalistan.
- (ii) Killing of innocent people should stop. Terrorism as a way of life is not acceptable.
- (iii) Any discussion can be only within the frame-work of the Constitution. A change can be brought about only through the processes <sup>lead</sup> ~~led~~ down in the Constitution. The rule of law has to be firmly established. If these conditions are fulfilled, there is a possibility of a political solution to the problem of Punjab.

14. The common causes of terrorism <sup>in Punjab</sup> are many and these would include:

- (a) inter-national causes,
- (b) that the Sikh psyche is wounded,
- (c) continued detention of Jodhpur detainees,
- (d) after-effects of Blue-star operation,
- (e) alleged police atrocities including alleged fake encounters.
- (f) the rise of fundamentalism.

15. The recruits to the terrorist group come mainly from villages. It is <sup>to fear</sup> ~~understood~~ that without some local sympathy terrorism cannot survive. There is revival of fundamentalist feeling in certain areas of Punjab, mainly the outcome of the propaganda in the seminaries. Religious fanaticism resides in the minds



of the poor, the ignorant and the illiterate. The Seminaries exploit the situation. Fanatism and simplicity of perception are closely inter-linked. There ~~are~~<sup>is</sup> in some extreme cases, the sense of the romantic. The terrorists generally strike at soft target and if they can get at a soft target in the shape of important officials there is a feeling of elevation in their ranks. This generally sends shock-waves and claims media attention and there is a genuine public concern. These fuels terrorist goals. Conditions of panic are created. People also have a feeling that if an important Government official or a political leader could be killed, though this might arise out of an individual failing, how can their own lives be safe. Arguments do not easily carry conviction. Creation of panic is the dream around which terrorist activities revolve. At the same time, it has to be mentioned that the Punjab problem~~x~~ has thrown up quite a few Police leaders who have been able to galvanize the rank and file. This has to be viewed in the context that (i) 80% of the Punjab ~~police~~ are Sikhs and they are sometimes perceived as anti-Hindu in their feelings; (ii) Earlier, professionally the Punjab police was not as yet prepared to meet the challenges of terrorism; (iii) There is continuing need for micro-level intelligence, and (iv) The need for harnessing public opinion on a sustained



16. Terrorism also has resulted in the growing inactivity in many areas of administration and this has compounded the problem, viz (a) failure of many branches of administration, (b) there are few jails which could hold the terrorists, (c) failure of the judiciary. There is a brooding sense of fear of terrorists in the Courts. It is virtually impossible to secure conviction in a court of law of any terrorist, (d) failure of the investigative machinery.

17. The Police have quite strong legal means to deal with situations:

- (i) stringent provisions of the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act 1987, replaced in September 1987 with the similarly worded enactment conferring more drastic powers. In this legislation, (a) punishment for being a terrorist, (b) for abetting terrorists, (c) for communicating with the terrorists, (d) for harbouring a terrorist - minimum 5 years imprisonment extendable upto life imprisonment, have been provided.
- (ii) A person can be convicted on the uncorroborated testimony of a co-accused or on his confession to a police officer.



(iii) Trials are not to take place in ordinary courts in public view, but before specially designated courts in-camera and adopting different procedures - such courts can try cases summarily.

(iv) If trial cannot be resorted to, then Preventive detention and judicial custody is permissible for a period of one year.

(v) Confinement before trial is the rule and bail a rare exception.

18. The provisions of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 are both harsh and stringent. Besides this, article 359 of the Constitution has been amended. Not only emergency powers are sought to be introduced but also the power to suspend the right to life and property (Article 21). The reasons advanced for this amendment is that terrorist activity has been on the increase notwithstanding the provisions of TADA.

19. Besides the TADA, the following could also be used:

- (1) National Security Act
- (2) Punjab Disturbed Areas Act
- (3) Punjab Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act.



20. The Centre had earlier toyed with the idea of a security belt along-with the border which would be subject to central control and could be handed over to the control of Army if the need arises.

21. The opposition parties have been demanding the use of Army from time to time and in extreme cases even the introduction of martial law.

22. While analysing the Punjab problem it is seen that the police have suffered from certain handicaps:

(a) Weapon Policy:

As against the use of Chinese Assault AK-47 Rifles and in a few instances the use of rockets by the terrorists, the security forces are handicapped for want of sufficiently sophisticated weapons. It is essential to adopt a strategy by which ~~at least~~ the CRPF & Punjab Police could be equipped with modern weapons. Though this matter has been repeatedly examined and even taken up with the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Defence, a decision to equip the CRPF appropriately has not been taken so far. There is also the feeling that the more advanced weapons are not quite



reliable in police hands. A weapon policy for CRPF and security forces with special reference to Punjab has to be evolved. It will be possible to quickly re-act to situations like ~~in the case of~~ ambushes etc. only when weapons of requisite ~~calibre~~ *specification* are available with the force. To start with, field level ~~of~~ weapons must be generally given to all the security forces.

(b) Intelligence Cover:

The intelligence cover has to be strengthened. The CRPF and the security forces <sup>*(except the CRPF)*</sup> themselves do not have intelligence units and they depend on intelligence from either the State Police or the Intelligence Bureau. What is required for the security forces is the intelligence at a micro-level more than intelligence at macro-level. Specific intelligence would enable the security forces to swing into action immediately and results would be much more encouraging.



(c) Lack of Training:

Lack of continuous training on the part of security forces remain a handicap. The usual rotational training has been disrupted as the security forces remain over-worked.

(d) The security forces unfortunately remain road-bound only, unlike the terrorists who can operate in small groups. At the same time the terrorists have the following advantages:

- (i) They can attack at a place they choose,
- (ii) Generally they attack soft targets,
- (iii) They do not engage themselves in pitched battles with security forces.
- (iv) There is a sympathy factor and there are some people who do harbour them.
- (v) The fear psychosis of people.
- (vi) Easy availability of funds.
- (vii) Foreign backing.
- (viii) They have very little paraphernalia, and
- (ix) Highly mobile.

Contd....16)



23. To contain terrorism, strong administrative measures which include police action are, of course, essential. Equally important, however, is the role of opinion-makers viz, the intellectuals, the print and electronic media and Government agencies such as the field publicity department of the Government. If all these play an effective and meaningful role, it will be possible to isolate terrorists. It should be possible to explain to the Sikh masses that many of the so-called grievances have no substance. Strong administrative action could also ensure that people are able to get their work done from minor Government functionaries without harassment or without having to offer bribes. The role of terrorists in eliminating -such harassment gives them the robinhood image.

24. I have explained in the foregoing paras the provisions of TADA. Though they are quite stringent, it is essential to examine what other legislation is necessary to strengthen the hands of the police and revive the criminal justice system so that the terrorists can be brought to book speedily and the majesty of law, restored.

25. Extra-ordinary measures may be unavoidable if terrorism is to be wiped out. Commando raids on training camps in countries which are aiding the terrorists may have to be undertaken in a big way.

Commando action may also become inevitable on sources



which supply sophisticated fire arms to terrorists. This may perhaps bring the country close to a military conflict with a foreign power. Results of the Commando action will, therefore, have to be weighed against the likely adverse effect on our international relations.

26. I have tried to cover a very complex problem within short span of time. The problem has many facets and one can legitimately look at it from different angles. ✓ A total view of the problem rather than a police angle alone is paramount. A partial view would be like that of blind men assessing an elephant, some likening it to a serpent touching the tail or imagining it as a pillar after examining its legs. A total picture should emerge. A confluence of positions is necessary to tackle the terrorist problem, political, economic, religious, law and order etc. For a moment we should forget about votes in Punjab or elsewhere.

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WHITHER TERRORISM

This is a layman's paper on terrorism and, therefore, many questions may remain unanswered. The idea is to have a debate and discussion so that I atleast get educated. I am reminded of two stories, one by a Russian and other by an Indian friend. The Russian, Mr. Andrei Sakharaf has to say:

'No matter how high the aims predicted by the terrorists.... their activities are always criminal, always destructive, throwing humankind back to a time of lawlessness and chaos, provoking.. internal and international complications, contradicting the goals of peace and progress.'

Sometime back, before Kashmir crisis we and Mr. Arun Shourie- were discussing Punjab and the situation obtaining there. His answer was on a sentence "Terrorism has come to stay, but we cannot have a country within a country", till total layman it appeared strange, till six masked AK-47 six armed militants came and attacked us at Srinagar, after poisoning our pet dog. Perhaps he was also wonderstruck as to what was happening. Had they not jumped over my wall broken a few flowered vases, I do not know what would have happened. After my son, jumped from first floor using a flowered pruned cypress tree and severely sprained his foot and he ran in bare feet, in so called "Khan Suit" - with curfew outside, after I hid my four year grand daughter in a bucket, after my wife started shouting at neighbours - with me, a silent nervous spectator, a timid man anything could have happened. Six locked gates/doors leading to our TV room were ignored and gun was put at the neck of my servant who was in the premises and in the meantime my son having located a patrol party and some Mohalla wallas coming out, did the truders run away. The others even put their lights off.

The militants left shouting they will come back. What for, God knows. Somebody repeated this threat at Jammu also. My family went to a relative, who is a senior police officer. I stayed back, with men from the Mohalla. The guard, then assigned, went to sleep quietly. Nobody replied from Police Control Room, where a phone call was made by some one from a neighbour. The wires of both of my phones were cut into pieces. I was nervous and terrified as what to do next. Next morning, I took permission from the Chief Secretary, who was then at Delhi to post me to Jammu. Thanks to his kindness there was no hesitation. I also met D.G. whom I had seen first time in person and he promptly provided guards whose parmonance has been excellent. The new guards continue to look my empty fully furnished house looks like they have been fully trained to do so.



This is minor example of terrorism in Kashmir trickling in a minor manner to other parts is now known. My fault was I was the only Muslim to attend office when call for 'hartal' was given. My daughter is married to a Hindu, who had to fly to Delhi and since then is there.

"Terrorism is going to stay", I still remember. But for what intentions and intents. And it is global now. One could give thousands of illustrative examples, but in present situation, it appears useless. Terrorism has now plus anti-social elements as well as killing of innocents, for money, burning property for several reasons, lack of knowledge of religion, greed to have more. The execution of power beyond and powers to occupy chairs is where power lies and partly a contributing factor.

And ambition! one wants more. His is not satisfied with what he has perhaps there are people who need more than they have.

I have another story to tell. When Jenab Sheikh Sahib went to Algeria, he asked the President, how did he get independence in such a short period. Mum, was the reply and sound of drinking water. This happened many a times. At the end, a reply did come. Let us go for a walk" and they reached a grave yard. The President just said, "My sons are burried in this in this mass grave. A question was asked and reply was they are all my children! If you boast your sons being doctors and lawyers and leave fighting for freedom to some elsewhere and anybody you may also soon have it!! Things have changed, you do not have to swords and horses, modern weapons have made it different type of terrorism. Country with a country may not be true but now whole of it is engulfed in it. "The man said it all" that is what is happening.

That was layman speaking. Let us go to terrorism as a whole, as if I was not one.

This paper is about terrorism, the subject will most certainly grab headlines into the 1990s, as it has done for twenty years. The Invisible Armies are with us for the foreseeable future.

The name 'terrorism' has been given to a new form of crime, a new departure in politics, a new danger to freedom. The use of violence and the threat of violence are not new. But what is new is the perspective modern terrorism affords on sentiments such as that expressed by Thomas Merton in his Introduction to Gandhi's Non-Violence in Peace and War: 'Violence is essentially wordless and it can begin only where thought and rational communication have broken down.' Those words were written in 1948. Examining what the world calls terrorism - whatever the difficulties of agreeing on a definition - we find the opposite is true. The



violence of terrorism is positively verbose: always accompanied by threats, communiques and manifestos, and succeeded by historical argument and political reaction. First the violence, then the claim; first the blood, then the bluster. Violence is the megaphone for terrorists and their claims.

Terrorism is regarded as a uniquely offensive form of political activity by a near-unanimous majority of citizens, governments and institutions in the developed world. The use of terrorist tactics is a response to political impotence, to a position of weakness, to the inability to influence events (whether any influence is deserved or not). The developed world reacts to terrorism with understandable revulsion, and more importantly rejects the terrorist's case (whether it has any merit or none) specifically because terrorism has been employed. It is a vicious circle which guarantees the continuance of terrorism, even if only despairing protests.

As a rule, terrorism does not succeed in terrorizing the chiefs of government who are protected, and perhaps sanguine or heroic about the risks they face. It does terrorize the general population, the very audience that the terrorists are attempting to win over. The reaction of most politicians and citizens to an act of terrorism is, first, shock; and second anger and a sense of impotence. There are very few converts, and very many are simply revolted by the violence, uninterested in the issue and uncomprehending of the mentality of those who use such violence in the name of their cause or ideals. The phenomenon is far from new. Karl Marx - in whose name a terrible variety of bloody acts of violence or repression is committed in pursuit of 'popular struggle' - observed the same immense gap between the dedication of the terrorists and the mingled shock and indifference of the people watching. As he wrote to his friend Friedrich Engels on 14 December, 1867, after the Fenians (Irishmen fighting to be free of British rule, as ever) had bombed Clerkenwell Prison in London, killing a number of passing Londoners.

Terrorism since the 1960s has claimed relatively few victims in global terms. US State Department Statistics in mid-1985 showed that from 1968 to 1984 inclusive, a total of 7,435 terrorist incidents worldwide had claimed a total of 4,796 lives (of whom 465 were Americans). In the same period, it might be reasonable to guess that fifty natural disasters have claimed as many lives each, if not more; without considering the infinitely greater suffering and death toll of famine and epidemics in sub-saharan Africa.

Unnatural disasters produce more morbidity than terrorism - for example, murder and road deaths. In the two states of Texas and California together, in 1983 more people died at the hands of murderers (4,864) than had been killed by worldwide terrorism over sixteen years to 1984. In 1981, roughly the same number of victims (4,684) died in road accidents in Texas alone. Still more (5,498) met the same death in California. And in 1983, even



on a declining trend, 44,600 people died in road accidents in the United States as a whole; ten times the total number of victims of terrorism in almost two decades, throughout the world. The disproportionate anger aroused by terrorism is simply attributable to its essential illegitimacy; terrorists' victims suffer the exact moral opposite of 'accidental death', the antithesis of the crime passionnelle.

Terrorism has been allowed to undermine the notion that the West has enjoyed forty years of peace since 1945. What clearly the West has avoided, though many areas of the world have not, is the mass-casualty carnage of full-scale territorial war. Some insist that the existence of nuclear weapons - paradoxically so destructive that their use is almost unthinkable - has guaranteed the peace as much or more than the sheer cost and human loss of conventional war. Others believe that terrorism has also made an ironic contribution to peace-by-permitting certain conflicts to express themselves at a level of loss and destruction which in the very long term can be regarded as acceptable.

There is an attractive myth that terrorism is a basic law-and-order problem, involving few people and amenable (despite all the contrary evidence) to tough, simple measures. But why should terrorism stop, when the massive publicity attending a single act of terrorism will predictably outweigh decades of peaceful representation and lobbying? Why should it stop, when concerted government actions have produced a null effect of deterrence?

Terrorism is copiously reported in newspapers, news magazines, television and radio. But in search of truth you have to report both sides of the story. There are in effect two stories here: the story of the terrorists incident, and the separate story of the government reaction to terrorism. Every incident provokes predictable and deserved condemnation of bloodshed from government spokesmen, but such reactions rarely reveal the meaning of the event. However, distasteful and offensive, there is another side to the story - the terrorist's side.

This is not to propose a friendly exposition of the terrorist's case- far from it. Modern terrorism has afflicted the world for long enough, yet the most important questions seem still to be unanswered; or more disturbingly, the uncomfortable answers remain ignored. It is important to ask: who becomes a terrorist? What issues seem to end in terrorism and what issues do not? What provokes an individual to shed blood in peace-time? What complex group and individual motives lie behind the emergence of a terrorist organization? What



evidence do terrorists observe for a belief in their ultimate success? Why don't they stop even when they do make substantial gains?

In the case of State policy, one has the same inquisition to perform. We know about states insisting on law and order and legitimate democratic power, but why do states not stand by their avowed principles? Why do they do deals with terrorists? Support some terrorists while condemning other? Seek to define terrorism narrowly to satisfy their local, political or sectarian preferences? The first, crude answer is that governments are political entities, and in politics (despite the absolutes uttered by the politicians) every issue can be fudged according to the needs of the situation. What we must learn in exposing these dishonesties is that terrorism and democratic government are at opposite ends of a continuum: government ministers and all professional politicians should be able to understand terrorists if any one can, because they are crudely speaking in the same game, playing by different rules.

The central objective of this paper is to generate a sense of comprehension of realism in the debate on terrorism, and to demonstrate that pragmatism must visibly replace dogmatism and grand principle as the sole viable response to terrorism. Terrorist violence has been present in the world for long enough-and growing year by year to convince any one that it cannot be 'defeated'. While every terrorist event provokes new debate about the appropriate response, the purpose here is to show that the debate is effectively finished; that the decision has in fact been taken, by almost all relevant powers, that terrorism is an ugly but necessary price to pay for two quite separate things: democratic freedoms whose destruction would be guaranteed by the repression which can be and has been employed to kill of terrorism; and the reluctance to address unpalatable political problems whose solution, in effect, is too low a priority.

Terrorism offers governments and leaders a unique problem in modern politics. There is a crime, with victims(usually innocent), public outrage, accusations and demands. The State is attracted for some policy or other, or the absence of a policy, but it is not the state which suffers directly - indeed states are only composed of their people and their public and private property. The government must react somehow to reassure its citizens and to present an image of calm. What usually occurs is rather more, however; the Prime Minister promises that terrorism will not influence policy; terrorists will be subject to justice (sometimes meaning retaliation upon other unrealized



victims); that terrorism will never pay. The problem is that these claims are almost always false. Terrorism does produce results - it gets issues into the public which provoke terrorism as a reaction. Terrorists almost always get some kind of concession.

For the lay observer, there are two contradictory problems; firstly, every intelligent or merely regular reader of the newspapers knows exactly what terrorism is, to his or her own satisfaction; secondly, for political reasons, no definition will achieve universal agreement. The difficulties are illustrated by a case in September, 1985, when three Palestinian terrorists boarded an Israeli sailcruiser moored overnight in the marine at Larnaca, in Southern Cyprus. Three Israeli tourists on board became hostages at gunpoint. The Palestinians threatened to kill them, unless Palestinians held in Israel were released from custody immediately. This was apparently a classic terrorist act.

If an act has certain features and consequences, terrorism it is. Even if a terrorist act is carried out by a diplomat or a soldier of a legitimate state, the agent can objectively and impartially be called a terrorist. In short, a spade is a spade, whether the gardener call it a shovel, or the landowner 'a gardening implement'.

Terrorist acts or campaigns have two levels of objective. Tactically, the goal is publicity, and recognition of a problem or claim. For the terrorist with a cause to promote, the advertisers for apocryphal saying holds true: all publicity is good, and bad publicity is better than none. Terrorism without publicity is a weapon firing only blanks. At the stratetic level, the goal is absolute change-freedom, independence or revolution.

\* Terrorism always involves a criminal act; the use or the threat of violence against the person in crimes of murder, kidnap or hostage-taking; the use of violence against property and assets in vandalism, arson and bombings.

\* Terrorism presents the unique danger of a readiness to kill at random, not in anger or hatred, but deliberately to produce a political shockwave with the intention of bringing forward change.

\* Terrorism is not war, subject to conventions which define the immunity of many classes of persons. Many terrorists claim a false legitimacy by asserting that they are in a 'state of war' with a government. However, they ignore those rules of war which define neutral territory and non-combatants and forbid the taking of hostages and ill-treatment of prisoners. Indeed, terrorism may specifically



attack the soft, civilian, undefended targets because of their normally accepted immunity.

\* Terrorism involves surprise and therefore needs to be planned and structured in advance, though individual targets may be selected more for reasons of opportunity than anything else.

\* Terrorism plays no part in riots - spontaneous public disorders which may share some political origins with terrorist actions. Though the violence or anger involved may have a similar effect to terrorism on the public audience, riots lack any calculating element of political blackmail.

\* Terrorism presents demands for immediate action; and guarantees escalation if demands are not met.

\* The terrorist is almost never a lone individual - clearly the actions of deranged individuals should be excepted even though they may have some outlandish political fantasy directing their actions.

The left has no monopoly on terrorism, though leftists often denounce studies of terrorism for ignoring its right-wing exponents. Terrorism perpetrated by the left consists of far more incidents, damage and victims than that of the right, but the right acts in a far less systematic, far random and more deliberately shocking way. There is no doubt that the occasional major neo-fascist attacks, for example in Italy, with as many eighty dead in a single incident, have helped create an atmosphere of public revulsion which has in turn been directed more determinedly ---and certainly more successfully---against the somewhat--- less murderous, though still dangerous terrorists of the left. Neo-fascist terrorists are fewer in number, more militaristically secretive and inaccessible, and occasionally subject to the protection of the co-conspiratorial state.

\* Terrorists will never fail to claim responsibility for their violence. Without identifying themselves and communicating some demand or ultimatum, their act is pointless. Without political motivation, more criminal violence would have no impact or repercussions.

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\* Terrorism is the antithesis of assassination in the spectrum of political violence. Assassination dictates the selective killing of an individual enemy in the hope that his policies will die with him. If the target is the king, the cause is not much advanced by shooting the Palace Guards.

\* The physical target of a terrorist act, the individual victim, may be unimportant, even random, in itself, the most important 'target' is the larger audience. Terrorism is to produce a psychological effect far wider than the concrete results of a particular violent incident. The murder of one Police officer, or the bombing of one military factory, implies and intends a continuing threat to all such officers and factories and to the society in which they operate. Bombs or other attacks on 'type-targets' have a particular resonance-against airline offices, holiday resorts, police stations, tourist beaches or facilities of multinational corporations.

Almost every campaign of terrorism will develop according to a predictable pattern of incidents and stages. The first event will probably be a bombing, causing damage but no casualties, followed by a telephone call, usually to an international news agency, either directly claiming responsibility for the attack or giving instructions on where to find a 'communique' which does so. The message is usually typed, and the language almost invariably known language-inflated with political jargon. The first escalation of tactics will probably come with a telephoned warning that a bomb has been placed where it will injure people, such that an evacuation emergency follows. There will be threats of more such incidents unless 'demands are met'.

By now the new terrorist group will have achieved at least the first stage of its early goal-publicity for the cause. In this connection it will almost certainly issue some longer statement of purpose and may contrive to give a clandestine interview to a newspaper or broadcasting outlet. Through its existence it will have needed finance, and bank or post office robberies may now be seen to be deliberate fund-raising efforts by the terrorists.

The next escalation will be a sign of desperation-- and the more dangerous for that-- probably involving the taking of hostages, and thus a siege. There the dangers to the terrorists are greatly increased, which in turn threatens the lives of the hostages all the more. Some terrorist groups have deliberately avoided this route, but such actions have a high publicity profile and often help galvanize support in the community which already broadly sympathises with the group's efforts or goals. If, as is almost certain, the group is getting nowhere with these tactics, there will be



two likely consequences, one external and one internal. Externally the group will begin to kill; assassination and bombs without warnings will try to pressure compromise from the state-enemy. Internally there are likely to be sharp divisions about the wisdom of such an escalation, and in extreme circumstances the killing will turn in on the dissenting faction. The single most dangerous element in a terrorist group is the member who wants to exercise restraint, for in terrorism 'you' are either for us or against us.

If the terrorists survive the security response to their use of random violence, they will begin to enjoy a grandiose sense of their power, believing themselves to be the enemies and equals of the state. The Group, organized probably in a cell-structure with a central command and individual cells which do not contact each other, will be forced to live in increasing secrecy. Clandestine life ironically requires all the more support from those sympathisers who sustain the underground terrorists while not involving themselves in 'active service'.

As its victory fails to arrive, the terrorist group will often divert its attention from the obvious primary targets.

Terrorists kill one man to threaten a thousand, or to intimidate an industry; to breed public insecurity; and to blackmail governments into reconsidering the policies which generate these violently negative consequences in otherwise orderly states. But although one might get the contrary impression from contemporary front-page-leads and leaders, terrorism is not responsible for all the ills and violence in the modern world. For the purpose of definition it is particularly important to distinguish it from two close relatives of distasteful political action- on the one hand, state terror and on the other, guerilla warfare.

Some argue that terrorism and state terror are two sides of the same coin, and that to distinguish them is to discriminate against the already-oppressed political minorities in favour of an unexamined status-quo. But state terror is a separate subject: the actual number of incidents and victims infinitely outweighs the toll of terrorism, and is in many ways far more important and deserving of international concern. When the State terrorizes its own people, it commits an offence more intolerable even than the terrorism perpetrated by a group which is essentially powerless.

\* State terror is the abuse of legitimate power, of the methods of control normally available to a state for legitimate purposes of national defence, domestic order and state security. The idea of a political state is meaningless unless its government has the right to exercise such powers in specific and reasonable circumstances.



\* The methods and apparatus of state terror-false imprisonment, torture, disappearances, death squads-rarely equate with those of terrorists, except in the general sense that these acts are designed to spread a climate of fear among wider group than the direct victims. Terrorists commit acts of public terror while concealing their real identity; the state commits acts of secret terror(not least because its repression includes control of the media) while the public knowledge of the State's guiding hand is essential. State terror acts directly against its known opponents - eliminating them, having them "disappear", or imprisoning them on doubtful charges. The immediate targets are 'the problem', more than the wider audience. Terrorism is a war of attrition fought by an invisible-but vocal-army. The state has no need to act by attrition. It has the tools to exercise its will immediately. While the terrorist plants bombs to sow a mood of insecurity, the state acts bluntly to make political opposition very bad for the health of the opponents, and quickly.

\* State terror can often be the breeding-ground for terrorism or of its military cousin, guerilla warfare; though they in turn are not at all the same thing. For some time the words 'terrorist' and 'guerilla' were used interchangeably, but inaccurately. The phrase 'guerilla war' gives the right military emphasis, and it is more aptly interchangeable with 'insurgency', a form of warfare that military men recognize while domestic police and security forces do not. While terrorism is the outgrowth of conventional political protest, guerilla activity is the preamble to civil war.

\* Guerilla groups usually operate in semi-developed states or in the less urban areas of the state, while terrorism almost always has an urban setting.

\* Guerillas almost invariably hold territory within the state which they wish to overthrow, or secure cross-border base: they usually the direct support of a state hostile, and probably adjacent, to the one they are opposing.

\* Guerillas generally attack the state's infrastructure: its transport, communications and energy arteries( railway lines, power stations, telephone exchange, factories); while terrorists attack the political figureheads and symbols.

\* Guerillas often abduct or coerce civilians to join them and fight against the existing government, while terrorists are extremely careful to screen their recruits.

\* Guerillas operate relatively openly and have a form of military command structure, engaged as they are in semi-conventional warfare; while governments usually respond to terrorist campaigns with enhanced police activity and legislation, guerilla warfare brings a military response.



It is of interest in this context to review the remarks of two men whose names are frequently invoked in reflections on terrorism and guerilla warfare. Fidel Castro, who led a remarkably successful and popular peasant revolution to overthrow the Cuban ruler Battista, argued that the place of the guerilla is the countryside and that the city 'is the graveyard of the revolutionary freedom-fighter'. Che Guevara, who fought with Castro and went to die in combat, wrote a substantial handbook called Guerilla Warfare. While he did not condemn terrorism on moral grounds, he argued strongly against its efficacy;

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between sabotage, a revolutionary and highly effective form of warfare, and terrorism, a measure that is generally ineffective and indiscriminate in its effects. Since it often makes victims of innocent people and destroys a large number of lives that would be valuable to the revolution....many consider that its use, by provoking police oppression, hinders all more or less legal or clandestine contact with the masses, and makes impossible unification for actions that will be necessary at a critical moment.

The radical French journalist Regis Debray, who spent sometime with Guevara in the Bolivian jungle, late wrote a book enigmatically called Revolution in the Revolution, in which he attempted to assimilate terrorism and guerilla warfare. For him, too, terrorism was specifically an urban phenomenon.

Of course city terrorism cannot assume any decisive role, and it entails certain dangers of a political order. But if it is subordinated to the fundamental struggle of the countryside, it has from the military point of view a strategic value; it immobilizes thousands of enemy soldiers in unrewarding tasks of protection.

By implication, Debray begs the question of the meaning or point of terrorism used alone: it is certainly true that terrorists add greatly to police officer's overtime pay by putting hundreds or thousands of them on to alert during a terrorist campaign, or after any such threats. But the heightened police activity forces the terrorists underground; and the immobilization of the 'enemy soldiers' is to no secondary effect the terrorists have no second front to open up. Having attempted to define the objective criteria by which an individual act of political criminality can be categorized as terrorism, we must now embark on the 'political agenda' of the phenomenon. In the simplest possible terms, states take sides in almost all international political arguments, border disputes, historical grievances and revolutionary uprisings. In taking sides, national self-interest



too often overrides the observance of objective criteria - thus much of the agenda of terrorism in the modern world is set in the context of states' understandable, but real, biases.

1. Motivation....the first element to be taken into consideration....
2. Terrorism is a mediated phenomenon, and in a double sense. The victim of a terrorist act is the messenger as much as the target. The victim carries the message to the real addressee who are the most numerous and widespread witnesses possible...In a second sense the terrorist act brings into play an active pedagogy: the important thing is not the act in itself but the hold on conscience or the revelation that it involves from the spectator or the participant of the necessity and the possibility of important changes in the organisation of society.
3. Terrorism is a communications phenomenon.
4. Terrorism attempts to win hearts and minds.

The Senate report concluded in these terms:

Finally, and since one knows that any definition is practically guaranteed to fail, let us restrict ourselves to remembering that the terrorist act is an act of violence which tries in a legitimate state to impose a broadly minority will upon the authorities or on the guardians of sovereignty, that is to say upon the electors. For that purpose it makes use of the effects of surprise and mobilises reactions of fear among a public that is not very prepared for this shock treatment. It is perhaps in the nature of the French approach to terrorism that their definition should be discursive and explanatory. In the official publications of United States agencies, on the other hand, terrorism is defined coldly and bluntly. The State Department's office for Combating Terrorism - a division with an emphatic brief in itself - carries the following definitions inside the front cover of its periodic statistical reports:

**Terrorism:** The threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun, or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims.

**International Terrorism:** Terrorism conducted with the support of a foreign government or organization and/or directed against foreign nationals, institutions, or governments. International terrorism has involved groups seeking to overthrow specific regimes, to rectify national or group grievances, or to undermine international order as an end in itself.

The trend towards larger power blocs has an echo in the trend towards the dominant images of fewer and fewer world political leaders. In a sense this gives terrorists more power, at least through



media, because pre-eminent leaders can no longer devolve security concerns to deputies and responsible ministers. They have to address the terrorism issue personally (besides facing the fact that they may be the target) and this makes the terrorist's actions seem more important.

Terrorists include not only those who have been denied their homelands and national self-determination, but also the characteristic 1960s 'small is beautiful', anti-authoritarian factions and extremist revolutionaries like the Red Army Faction; besides the clandestine agents of legitimate states and powers. Old historical struggles like that between Britain and Ireland are one source of terrorism; peace treaties which end wars and fix new boundaries, like the Soviet-Turkish border in the 1920s, another; terrorism may be the chosen weapon to remedy the consequences of an unexpected war, as it was in part for the Palestinians after the Six Day's War of 1967; but equally terrorism can be the initiative of a tiny group of unrepresented yet unrepresentative radicals whose ideas could never gain currency in any larger arena than that of the group itself.

If it is possible to reach some general conclusions about the political circumstances from which terrorism develops, is it possible to predict in what settings it will occur, and what targets it will choose?

Certainly terrorist incidents occur more widely in democratic, free societies: partly because of opportunity of action and partly because of the potential advantage of publicity. While terrorism does occur in the more controlled societies (and the very nature of such societies means that we may hear far less about their terrorism than might be justified by real events), the control of citizens' movements, work, political activities and media, limits both opportunity and effect. In a society which has officially abolished unemployment it is an almost impossible proposition to live 'under-ground' and to disappear from daily life to wage a clandestine struggle.

Terrorism in pursuit of separatist causes naturally occurs within the state in the case of a move towards regional independence: the only relevant place for the actions of Basque separatists is Spain. Where the territory is separate but not independent, as in Corsica or New Caledonia, the attacks will largely be within the disputed territory and rarely on the mainland, though the local representatives - civil or military - of the mainland power are automatically at the top of the target list. Confining the attacks to the disputed area is in part a propaganda tactic, in an effort to portray the struggle as - which it usually is not - a local territorial conflict between 'Popular Forces' and the distant state. However, these are only general trends and there are numerous and tactically appropriate exceptions.



In some ways, international business a more appropriate enemy for the terrorists than government: for like the terrorists, big business wields actual power in a world set apart from the democratic, electoral process of voters and government. Arguably, business executives can have more real influence on individual lives than political executives. While terrorists envy the business community its non-governmental power, they attack it for the assumed motives and purposes for which its power is used. For the majority of terrorists profess socialist or Marxist political principles, and the embodiment of international capitalism makes a ready target.

Attacks on business are intended to cause a general sense of insecurity, and therefore to try to force a revaluation of the benefits of operating in the given territory. Attacks directed-increasingly in Western Europe in the 1980s---at defence industries have the specific intention of dissuading the companies from operating in that sector of business. They intend to blemish a glossy plate-glass-and marble million-dollar public facade with the shock of ultra-vandalism and blood-shed. A very important secondary effect is the diverting of resources from the wealth-creating business of the corporate body into expensive and burdensome security measures, which in theory pushes the price of operating closer to the level of unacceptability. No diplomatic mission wants to represent its country behind an inner-ring security sanctum of barbed wire, computer-coded entry systems and body-checks: and no business wants to be transformed by its enemies' attacks into the stereotype that is their hostile caricature, of faceless, stateless and impersonal bureaucrats behind high walls. But the attacks are increasing, and the defences are becoming more and more necessary.

The power of terrorism to alter outcomes--which is partly a function of the sophistication with which it is employed - changes dramatically according to the political situation in which it is used. Indeed, the tactics and efficacy of terrorist groups will vary according to the underlying support they can rely on from their community, or their claimed constituency. In this respect it is useful to distinguish between 'grievance-terrorism' and 'ideological-terrorism'.

"Terrorism always arises when there are no pre-eminent political issues to unite and maintain an organized public movement. And terrorists, people who support the militaristic groups, are much more efficient than radical activists -- they are the other branch of the institutional form of politics". So, according to one author, the radicals who



maintain legality and legitimacy are stuck in a middle ground of impotence, while the 'real' politicians and the 'efficient' terrorists slug out the real battles.

Between January and June 1985 there was a lull in Belgium: a pause in activity, however, which coincided with an escalation of attacks in both Germany and France. With the turn of the year, Action Directe devoted itself again to French political matters: that is, concentrating on the specifically French element of the familiar target areas - defence contractors, industrial multinationals and so on - and launching attacks relating to French domestic and foreign policy.

In West Germany, on 7 January 1985, the Red Army Faction raided the explosives depot of a cement factory in Geisingen, Baden-Wuerttemberg. It was not a great haul, but they got away with 35 rolls of fuse cord and 376 detonator caps. These materials were almost certainly used in the first of a concentrated series of attacks on American military targets in West Germany on 7 August, 1985, which was model of terrorist tactics and rhetoric. A car bomb consisting of explosives and gas bottles killed two American citizens and injured more than twenty when it blew up at the United States Air Force's Rhein-Main base near Frankfurt. The attack was claimed jointly by the RAF and Action Directe: their communique claimed the attack was a blow struck against imperialism: 'The USAF base is a centre for war against the Third World, used to transport American Troops and military equipment for acts of intervention in the Middle East and Africa.'

The groups later admitted to the murder of a US service-man whose identity card had enabled them to get access to the base. The second-hand Volkswagen car which served to transport the bomb carried US military licence plates, and had been bought in Frankfurt ten days earlier. West German Police named the suspected purchaser of the car as Sigrid Sterneback, 'a veteran RAF hardliner' who has been on the wanted list since 1977, with a price on her head of 50,000 Deutschmarks.

On 15 June 1985, an apparently new terrorist group attacked the American Forces Network Pomcus depot, in Monchengladbach. The attack was claimed by the 'Fighting Unit for the Creation of an Anti-Imperialist Front in Western Europe - a title which neatly describes the collective aims of the AD-RAF-CCC alliance. Their letter demanded the 'immediate release' of a failed RAF terrorist, Gunter Sonneberg, and the 'Bringing together' of the prisoners of the Red Army faction and the anti-imperialist resistance in groups capable of interaction'.



Yet another new name - or possibly a new group emerged in late June. On Wednesday 19 June 1985 a parcel bomb exploded in a luggage locker at Frankfurt International Airport, killing three people. At first there was a mysterious silence-breaking the normal pattern of terrorism, where the prime rule is to make a public claim. But three days later a bomb exploded in a letter box of the Bayer Pharmaceuticals Company in the centre of Brussels. A few minutes afterwards, an anonymous caller to the police claimed responsibility for the bomb, saying it was a response to pollution of the north sea by toxic waste, and the seizure by Spain of the Sirius-one of the campaign ships of the environmental pressure group Greenpeace, who promptly denied any connection with the terrorists.

Later the same day, staff at Agence France Presse in Paris found a letter: Written in English, it read 'Our brothers have just strike(sic) in Frankfurt Main. Congratulations'. The letter was headed, in French and English, 'The Peace Conquerors'---the same name given earlier t'e same day to Belgian Police, and never heard elsewhere. Neither claim made mention of the other, but the letter opened by Agence France-Press in Paris went on to warn 'Stop Nuisance - stop Pollution - Stop Aiport'(presumably the airport extension at Frankfurt). The letter added:'Before the end of the month we will destroy a major Frankfurt Airport building, and a Jumbo Jet'. This warning certainly evoked a frisson of shock- though little serious speculation of a link when the next day, 23 June 1985, an Air India jet went to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean.

In the case of terrorism directed towards regional self-determination or national liberation, it is usually the rule that a violent militant fringe has existed almost as long as the cause. In the Basque country, present day fighters talk of a fight which has lasted 150 years, and frequently there is a family tradition--almost a vocation -- of 'the struggle'. The efforts to free Ireland from British influence belong to a history of seven centuries of intermittent violence. But for the Armenian people, whose nationalistic grievance is relatively recent in historical terms, the route of violence came as an abrupt and specific response to sixty years of unsuccessful efforts to have that grievance recognized by international opinion.

The reaction of Laurent Tailha de on hearing that an anarchist bomb had been thrown in the chamber of Deputies in Paris.

Meeting terrorists is not an alarming or disturbing experience; face to face, outside the crisis or drama which is taken to be their natural milieu, it is easy enough to see them as comprehensible individuals. Their humanity and their experience are not different in kind from that



of every other kind of participant in political struggle. They are far from being stereotype radicals; they are usually intelligent and copiously well-informed in political affairs; they are rarely unbalanced.

What distinguishes terrorists from their peers and competitors is the willingness to pursue their struggle beyond the limits which constrain the overwhelming majority of citizens from protest or direct action, whether they are malcontents or not. It is true, of course, to suggest that the terrorist is unable to see the limits, for it is the very conscious violation of the barrier of acceptability which gives terrorist violence its impact. Thus the psychological study of terrorist motivation, personality and character is a very proper area of inquiry in the overall effort to understand the phenomenon of terrorist, despite the view of some traditionalists that it may come perilously close to finding 'excuses' for grotesque acts of cruelty and bloodshed. Indeed, the results of clinical analysis can be of equal value to government trying to discourage terrorism by appropriate political programmes, and to police officers negotiating on the ground in individual hostage situations.

In Italy, the general trend is for terrorists to come from the middle class and lower middle class; from broken families, or circumstances where the father was usually absent; occasionally from migrant families who had moved from the rural, Mediterranean culture of the other places, previously unknown to the more urban and industrial culture of the North. The left wing terrorist is over eighteen, upto about thirty-five.

He or she will be educated upto and possibly including university, in the humanities, political science of law. Contrary to the assumption that leftist terrorists would have avoided compulsory military service on ideological grounds, they have absolutely average rates of participation.

Right wing terrorists are male. They can be in their teens or middle-aged. The rightwingers have usually failed to complete their secondary education. They are prone to weapon-fetishism, and infrequent acts of spectacular bloodiness; while the left regard their weapons as tools, rarely make use of mass-attack weapons or very large quantities of explosive and tend to have a targeting strategy. Women appear very frequently in leftist groups on a basis of apparent quality, even to the point of carrying weapons, planting bombs and killing; while the right wing attitude is that women do not count. (The implication here is that the leftist revolutionary terrorist is breaking with a prevailing cultural pattern through political principle. The traditional position of women in Mediterranean and Catholic societies is also largely maintained, for example, within ETA - where one



etarra told Clark that the place of women was in the home, and that they were no use to the armed struggle, 'because they talk too much, especially to the parish priest!').

Despite the largely revolutionary nature of terrorism in Italy, there is one surprising detail about Red Brigade members which seems to belong far more to the context of Basque nationalism. Ferracuti observed that the first generation of Red Brigade terrorists 'were in many cases the children of fathers who had fought against the fascists for the Partisans', and saw themselves carrying on the mission of their parents. An alternative explanation, which Ferracuti offers half in jest, is that they had become 'fed up with hearing how their fathers had fought. They had to overcome the Oedipus somehow -- and you don't have to kill your father--merely to sham him'.

The evidence, then, on the typical 'terrorist personality' is that there is no such thing. Some terrorists appear to be stable members of the community with relatively untroubled personal histories; others, according to research assembled by Dr. Post from various countries, manifest a variety of symptoms of inadequacy: 'histories of childhood deprivation and narcissistic wounds... with a deficient sense of self-esteem, and inadequately integrated personalities....loners, alienated individuals who did not fit...extreme extroverts-- the selfcentred individual with little regard for the feelings of others...neurotic hostility...projecting the person's own hostility onto the social environment'.

Dr. Post presents a formidable and convincing argument that group psychology offers more insight into the ways that terrorists operate, where evidence of the individual psychological pattern leaves many questions unanswered. He notes that 'what is particularly striking is the uniformity of terrorist behaviour', despite the very widely differing circumstances of the individual terrorists. Post attributes this to the dynamics of group psychology and above all to the fact that the new recruit to terrorism is someone who very likely finds himself or herself feeling as if they fully 'belong' for the first time. He arrives at this judgement effectively in a negative way: by dismissing the ostensible 'cause' of terrorism as an insufficiently convincing motivation: 'The group cause - the ideology - is of great importance. We do not believe "the cause" is the basic underlying psychological motivation for joining. Rather it serves as the rationale for the espoused, consciously acknowledged motivation for joining'. He continues his argument as follows:

"The idea of the ideology as a rallying point is strange, because the ideology is really vapid. Some of the members of a group



chant(the ideology) as slogans, and it reminds me of the mantras of various religions. I don't believe anyone does anything for ideological reasons - people do things for personal reasons which have been given ideological shape".

So why are these people in terrorist organizations at all, rather than fringe religions? Post specifically accepts the analogy, in pointing to the Unification Church of Rev. Sun Myung Moon says as a very similar refuge for the 'lonely' rejected and sad', or 'depressed, inadequate, or borderline anti-social youths'.

The key concept in the psychology of recruits is 'relief at joining'. Post quotes a study of the participants of a mass arranged-marriage ceremony of the 'Moonies': taking place in the USA, this represents a socially unacceptable proposition. The study found that 'the greater the relief the sect members associated with their membership, the more likely they were to accept this deviant social behavioural norm'. Post proposes that the attraction of terrorist-group membership operates in the same way, to the marginalised individual: 'If the only time you have really felt good about yourself is when plotting the destruction of the establishment, then however you get in - youthful adventures, the drug culture, or real aggressive/paranoid bent - the group takes over, and individual differences melt away.

When the group's importance has thus been established in the minds of the members, the priorities of the individual and the collective are established, too. But they vary from the assumptions of outsiders quite sharply. Jerrold Post's view is that for the members who has found a 'home' in the group, 'the primary goal is to feel that you belong, and to be fighting the good fight: the assumed goals of publicity and ultimate victory for the cause come second and third on the list'. For the group, there is an equivalent primary goal - 'simply to ensure that it survives as a group'. Post's analysis is that for the alienated individuals - which is his assessment of those who join, though it is not accepted universally - "joining a terrorist group represented the first real sense of belonging after a lifetime of rejection, and the terrorist group was to become the family they never had'.

In a paper delivered to a United States Department of Defence symposium on 'out thinking the Terrorist' in April, 1985, he developed the theme: 'In joining a terrorist group, the member tends to break off all previous affiliations, to become dependent upon the group for emotional support. The move from outside to inside the terrorist group means a profound alteration in lifestyle. For the group member, especially one who has committed a criminal act, the group literally become a protection against danger. The member needs the group for protection against hostile outside world.



When the group's existence is threatened, it increases group cohesion, as individuals find their own source of security threatened.

The prevailing 'need to belong' not only explains the strong similarities between the behaviour of quite widely different groups; it also paradoxically explains the sense of solidarity that exists between separate groups. It is a two-stage process: because by definition the terrorist group is hostile to the state and almost certainly has the status of 'wanted criminals', and atmosphere of all-out conflict is cultivated. In Dr. Post's words: 'The "us against them" framework (for "fight-flight") is a very powerful mechanism that dissolves differences and makes the group feel that all the establishment is out to destroy you, so you must destroy them to bring justice in the world. 'It is an all-or-nothing attitude which permits no half measures, no grey areas: 'you are either with us or you are against us' - which greatly increase group solidarity. The second stage is the recognition that other anti-establishment groups are 'with us'; Post says that 'the links found between different groups adds evidence to the idea that "the Cause" is not the "cause" - links lie between those who feel they must strike against authority.'

The acute hostility to everything and everyone outside the group is taken by some psychologists as the most revealing evidence of unstable or deviant personalities being prone to terrorism. It is a manifestation, according to one theory, of 'narcissistic rage' - defined as coming from 'the need for revenge, for righting a wrong, for undoing a hurt by whatever means, and deeply anchored, unrelenting compulsion in the pursuit of these aims'. Another commentator, John Crayton, writes that these are 'individuals who have a stunted empathic capacity. They do not understand the wishes or frustrations and disappointments of other people. At the same time, their sense of the legitimacy of their own wishes and their sensitivity to their own frustrations are intense'. In similar vein, Dr. Post explains that 'a healthy individual takes the negative and positive parts of himself and relates to the whole: a borderline or narcissistic personality takes all or nothing, in a totalitarian mind-set: the parents are seen as evil, the terrorist leader takes on a god-like status. 'This is splitting: the good self is opposed against the evil world, and nothing lies in between. As Dr. Post expresses the conflict, 'There is the me and the not-me, the good and the bad, and if things are not going well, it is not me, it is their fault. And having projectively identified society.

Ferracuti has argued that the utter certainty of ideological value is the motor that drives a



terrorist to justification of morally repugnant acts. In the case of the Islamic fundamentalist terrorism of the Middle East, which causes more concern in the late 1980s than any other branch, the ideology takes the form of faith.

Since the overwhelming drama of the suicide bombings of the French and American Marine compounds in Beirut in 1983, a natural but excessive emphasis has been placed upon the Islamic theology of martyrdom. Scholars have attempted to pin down the precise rules which - it is alleged-establish that the martyr to Islam is guaranteed a place in Heaven, especially so if he takes out some of the enemies of Islam at the same time. This convenient analysis permits the west a racist view of Islamic fundamentalist feeling - attributing attacks on Western interests to eccentric, robs foreigners, thereby disallowing any sense of a political cause worth evaluation and toleration. Whatever the psychological motivation, however, the most relevant issue raised by the new Islamic terrorism is the fact of its apparant acceptability to the militant fundamentalist regime of Iran, which has significant outposts of influence in Lebanon. The Shi'ite branch of the Muslim faith regards foreign influence as automatically bad (just like those Europeans who view their countries as the tolls of multinational corporations or of American military policy), so that the objectives of the terrorists correspond closely to the principles of their religious leaders.

Sheikh Mohammad Hussein Fadhlallah is a Labanese Shi'ite leader whose career neatly encapsulates both aspects of the issue. While he is a senior mullah at a mosque in Bir Abed in Southern Beirut, he is also widely alleged to be the spiritual leader of Hezbollah(God's Own) - the most fanatical and extreme of the Shi'ite groups, apparently under the indirect control of Ayatollah Khomeini, and determined to spread the Islamic Revolution through Lebanon and beyond.

Fadhlallah's office and home is on the fifth floor of an apartment building in Bir Abed, a Shi'ite suburb which the civil war between the militants has reduced to smoke-blackened ruins. The remains of buildings are plastered with posters of Ayatollah Khomeini and of the Imam Moussa Sadr, the Lebanese Shi'ite cleric who disappeared on a visit to Libya in 1980. The nearby Green Line which divides Muslim West Beirut from Christian East Beirut(in much the same way that a net divides a tennis court, providing something to fire across) allows one to hear the occasional sniper's gunfire from relative safety. In the apartment there stands a steel strongroom door which would do justice to an arsenal, or a bank vault. In Arabic, a large scrawled notice instructs: 'Absolutely no entry-under any circumstances'.



The Sheikh, in brown robes and a black turban, gives no hint of passion, no anger, no violence in his speech or manner. But his remarks on the role of Islam and Political violence suggest a relatively uncomplicated view on the validity of what those on the receiving end are bound to call terrorism. He explains the aims of Hezbollah: 'I work with the common people in Lebanon and in the larger Islamic world, to implement Islamic ideas in the social, political and economic areas; to raise the status of Moslems, and to liberate them from any foreign rule. But if we are challenged and have to go into battle, we will fight back'.

The issue of terrorism is automatically raised by such a determined threat: 'We don't see ourselves as terrorists, because we don't believe in terrorism,' says Fadhlallah. But he concedes the efficacy of terrorism for certain limited purposes: 'We don't believe that terror can achieve a general aim. Terror can achieve very specific aims, but not general goals such as changing a social structure.'

In April 1985, two Washington-based organisations, the International Human Rights Law Group and the Washington office on Latin America, published the findings of a survey of human rights abuses in Nicaragua. The report, produced by Donald Fox, the senior partner in a New York law firm, and Michael Glennon, a professor at the University of Cincinnati Law School, did not shrink from listing what it identified as abuses perpetrated by the ruling Sandinista government. But its conclusions--based on a substantial collection of sworn affidavits from eye-witnesses, and to the maximum degree gathered without the assistance of any intermediaries with political bias--concentrated principally on the actions of Contra forces against civilians:

Substantial credible evidence exists that Contra violence is also directed with some military, or political significance and against persons who are hors de combat. It is important to emphasise that these are not persons caught in cross fire between Contra and Sandinista units. These are unarmed civilians who have no connection with hostilities and who have been the targets of deliberate attack by Contra units.

What is abundantly clear, however, is that many acts of the Contras that were related to us cannot be justified under any accepted doctrine of conventional or customary international law. They include the torture of the Barredas... kidnappings... the machine-gunning and burning of persons reasonably identifiable as non-combatants... murder... the slaughter of unarmed civilians merely driving along a highway... and the rape and murder of a woman in the militia.... These acts, by any standard of civilized conduct, are beyond the pale.



We believe, for three reasons, that it is reasonable to infer that terroristic violence is directed with some frequency at individuals who are not, or who are no longer, taking an active part in hostilities...The abuses described often were committed by groups of Contras numbering in the hundreds, leading to the reasonable inference that these acts were the work of supervised military personnel, not 'free agents' acting beyond the scope and course of normally expected operations.

It suffices to say that all probative evidence, taken together, indicates that serious Contra abuses against non-combatants occur far too often to justify any American support-public or private-of a sort that might enhance the ability of the Contras to commit these acts....

To the extent that is reasonably foreseeable that they will continue to engage in such acts, any provision of aid to the Contras, directly or indirectly, by the government of the United States would render our government indirectly responsible for their acts.

These measures are extremely safe and without risk for those who use them, as they do not require equipment, skill or specialised activities that can draw attention to the doer... One combatant can perform many of them, without having to turn to collaborators or having to make a detailed plan beforehand...Our sacred cause needs to have more men and women to join its ranks in order to perform these sabotage tasks'.

The tasks begin with a kind of go-slow or work-to-rule, combined with minor sabotage, that is familiar in cases of pure industrial or trades union conflict;

Don't do maintenance work on vehicles and machines;

Hide and damage tools, throw tools into sewers.

Come late to work-delay in completing tasks.

Call in sick so as not to work.

Leave lights on- leave water taps on.

Plant flowers on State farms.

Hoard and steal food from the Government.

Leave open the corral gates on State farms.

Spread rumours.

telephone to make false hotel reservations etc.

Spill liquids-drop typewriters-damage books.

Steal, hide key documents.

Threaten the boss by telephone.

Telephone giving false alarms of fires and crimes.

Break light bulbs and windows.

Cut telephone and alarm cables.

Put sponges into toilets and drains to cause blockages.

Paint anti-slogans.



At a more dangerous level, the manual suggests a variety of ways of sabotaging vehicles.

Put nails on roads, and next to the tyres of parked vehicles - put dirt or water into gasoline tanks - cut the upholstery - break windshield wipers and headlights - cut and perforate the tyres - put dirt, or pieces of candle in the oil tank and the distributor - break the distributor coil - steal the rotor cap - pierce the radiator or gasoline tank, cut battery cables, put nails in battery cells.

Terrorist, as is observed repeatedly both need and seek publicity - as do politicians, salesmen, ideologues, even religious leaders. The fact that terrorists get what they want in that respect if in no other - does not mean that the reporters, editors, producers and directors are doing wrong; it means that with valued freedom come certain imperfections. But with every case, the behaviour of journalists and news teams is examined with new concern; and it is inevitable that states beleaguered by terrorism will discuss different methods of shooting the messenger, in the form of 'the media'.

Armed with legislative tools to confront terrorism, states also naturally protect their most prominent citizens, their public occasions, their international sports events and their national monuments. Of all the possible targets of terrorism, however, one of the most tempting categories must be the growing number of international conferences and symposia at which academics, police and military officers, newspaper columnists and other assorted consultants review aspects of the modern terrorist phenomenon. Under the auspices of the Georgetown University institute, the US Defence Department, the Israeli Jonathan Institute and many others, the experts constantly reiterate their views to one another, read papers which are published and re-published in the books and journals they themselves edit, and advise the world's government on anti-terrorist methods. Few of them are asked to play a role in the task itself. While they prescribed the legislative means and military fire power to defeat terrorism, they ignore the real but less theoretically satisfying - options which governments have no choice but to implement, often as a matter of last resort.

Many states act in ways that their citizens might prefer not to hear about, and they may often be justified in so doing when they face the potentially fatal proposition of the terrorist incident. In the battle against terrorism, states cannot always restrict themselves to policing and legislative initiatives. Other options are available when these alone fail; and these other lines of defence reflect in turn both the nature of the terrorist threat faced by each state, and the political complexion of the government which uses them. In the simplest terms, we can distinguish three responses: negotiation, compromise and retaliation.



**Negotiation** is the policy of states which openly recognise (what most acknowledge behind closed doors) that terrorism is a form of politics, and optimistically believe that any political problem can be solved by negotiation; a policy infinitely easier to execute when the negotiating state is not the principal enemy and target of the terrorists, though that has not been an absolute obstacle.

**Compromise** is meant in its negative sense: a policy of inadvertent pragmatism, whereby states are unsure of their power to confront terrorism in the delicate balance of political diplomatic and economic interests, and consequently get tough with one terrorist only to act weakly towards another; or worse, to threaten all kinds of retribution and severity while failing to deliver action.

**Retaliation** is the chosen policy of embattled or isolated states with a terrorist enemy which either lies outside the borders of the state, or if within has no meaningful political support, or such support that the state cannot afford to recognize.

The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote in his autobiography that the appeal of terrorism is the call of the detective story'. But there is almost no evidence of people indulging in 'terrorism-for-kicks'. Instead, confounding the simplistic and dismissive judgements on the meaning of terrorism, governments and public must face the uncomfortable fact that at the heart of every terrorist action there lies a cause, a political goal, a perceived injustice or denial of liberty that is as concrete to the activist as any prime minister's notion of justice and freedom. It seems to be the politicians, ironically, who pre-eminently fail to understand that terrorism is a political activity. There are very few terrorists, for very few men or women have the single-minded devotion to a cause, no matter how apparently hopeless or irrelevant, to pursue it to and beyond the logical conclusion. After twenty years of the modern wave of terrorism, it is clear to extremist minorities that terror tactics will lead them possibly to death, probably to jail and definitely to an outcast's life.

The accidents of history and the grand decisions of mapmakers have nevertheless created enough devotees of lost causes to exact a significant price. Liberationists are denied by the boundaries of other nations- so they reject the boundaries of legitimate protest. Revolutionaries are excluded by the political process they abhor-so they attempt to explode the structure entirely. Their objectives are usually comprehensible, but less so, perhaps, the *reductio ad absurdum* of their tactics-to kill in order to give life to a dream of



nationhood or social equality. The terrorist is the strongest of all believers that the means justifies the end.

There are many different areas of practicality, technique and attitude which are essential to the activity of terrorism.

- Accommodation
- Budget
- Communications
- Discipline and Doubts
- Explosives
- Fundraising
- Highjacking
- Identity
- Kidnap
- Links
- Mobility
- Profile
- Recruitment



WHITHER TERRORISM

The frightening spectre of terrorism is surprisingly very simple and easy to define. "The threat or use of force/violent means for attainment of political objectives, such actions being intended to influence the attitude and behavioural pattern of a large group of people other than the immediate victims", is almost universally accepted as an adequate definition.

In the context of on-going terrorist upsurge in the unhappy valley, the political objective on which all the terrorist outfits are agreed, is the de-accession of the state of J&K from the Union of India. Historically the situation and consequently the very objective has gone through a process of evolution. It began to take shape as a slow, halting, uphill but determined and single-minded thrust to secure the accession of the State to Pakistan after the collapse of tribal invasion and signing of cease-fire agreement in 1949. Somewhere along the line the perspective got altered leading to fracturing of the ultimate aim. The dominant group (in terms of public acceptability) led by JKLF is now committed to attainment of 'Azadi' - an euphemism for creation of an independent state. Jamat-e-Islami and its militant wing, Hizbul Mujahideen on the other hand, continue to espouse the cause of the State becoming an integral part of Pakistan. This development is extremely important and could prove crucial in the exercise of options both by the terrorists and the Government in the days to come.

The accession of Kashmir by force was attempted by the Pakistan through the tribal invasion mostly because the Kashmiri muslims had rejected the two-nation-theory on which the edifice of Pakistan was constructed. The adventure misfired. The ceasefire agreement between the two countries in 1949 silenced the guns but the war continued though with a different complexion and new dimensions. Weapons and explosives were smuggled across the CFL, pro-Pakistani elements organized and saboteurs commissioned to carry forward 'crusade' behind 'enemy' lines. The intensity of these activities increased or decreased depending on the level of vigilance exercised by the State administration. True, the powers that be, at times resorted to exaggerations and even fabrication of bomb cases but the occurrence of sabotage remained a reality.

The State-Centre honeymoon witnessed the first major breach in 1953, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the then Prime Minister was sacked and jailed. This created an extra-ordinary situation. The architect of State's accession with India overnight, became the rallying point of anti-India, pro-Pak forces. The Plebiscite Front carried under its flag an assortment of national malcontents, secessionist and outright pak agents. For the first time, the anti-Indian elements developed the capacity to pose a serious threat to the integrity of the State. But for the 1965 fiasco, the kh may have still gone along the plebiscite line of thinking. The failure of the anticipated revolt to materialize led to change of tactics with emphasis on



organization of committed terrorist cadres. The Al-Fatah gang of subversives represented a high mark in the game of terrorism in Kashmir. The timely unearthing of this gang set the plans of Pak Intelligence back by a few years. However, they pursued doggedly in their designs, a commitment given only to fanatics. Simultaneously, long-term plans to twist the minds of muslims of Kashmir were pursued with greater vigour through the chain of 'Madrasas'. The impressionable minds were thus poisoned against the socialist, secular and democratic India, in a well-planned and highly effective manner.

The situation hardly improved in the wake of Indra-Abdullah Accord of 1975. The calculations on which the makers of Accord had relied, heavily, proved incorrect and un-realistic. They were apparently blind to the sea-change in the colouring and quality of political beliefs of the vast majority of NC men, exposed to the virus of pan-Islamism for two long decades. It was forgotten that the post-1975 National Conference was a revised version of the pro-Pak Plebiscite Front and not the reincarnation of the original NC, wedded to the secularism and Indian democracy. At any rate, this critical difference was ignored if not deliberately suppressed while fashioning the national policy. At the same time, the accord that brought Abdullah to power shocked the majority of his young and middle aged adherents. For them the Massiha had failed. The Mullah had turned heretic. The resentment and anger also fed the fires of pro-Pak militancy.

Even the Sheikh seems to have over-looked the difference between his original NC followers and those who collected around him under the leadership of Plebiscite Front. Known Pak agents were awarded with high political positions. The youngmen, who had remained in contact with Pak Intelligence were accommodated in the administration. In the new atmosphere being pro-Pak and anti-India was no more frowned upon by the people in power. Anti-Indian forces thus gained respectability and freedom to operate from positions of authority and they thrived under the protective umbrellas of the politicians in power.

By the time the Farooq Government was dismissed in July, 1984, the tentacles of terrorism had spread extensively. The calendar of events, however, underwent a change due to the beatings they took in 1985. But for the choking of channels of subversive literature including the periodical styled as "Al-Mujahid" regularly brought out and widely and almost openly distributed for years, recovery of weapons and explosives and busting of terrorist gangs like 'Aljehad', 'Al-Maqbool Muslim Mujahideen' and 'Holy War Fighters', 1986 may have witnessed what came about three years later. The dismissal of Government servants in February, 1986 for indulging in anti-national activities, served a notice, for the first time, that such activities were actually taboo for, atleast the Government servants.

The successor administration under the Governor nullified the advantages of all these actions. Pressure was relaxed. The Jamat-e-Islami was allowed to operate



freely. They made full use of this liberty. So did the terrorist groups taking precautions to maintain a somewhat low profile. The political imbecility and administrative naivety resorted to during this period had no parallel. Anti-nationals operated unfattered and unchallenged, creating an atmosphere congenial for the promotion and spread of militancy.

The Farooq-Rajiv Accord of 1986, did little to slow down much less resist the inexorable march of events. The complaints of massive rigging in 1987 elections which saw large number of Kashmiri youth taking part, grossly eroded the authenticity of public's verdict. The Government formed thereafter became a victim of manipulation by warring factions of beaurocrats, its own lethargy and the non-performance of the leader. Thus all avenues of redressal were closed. It was forgotten that the Government that blocks all political and constitutional exits must expect to have them blown open.

Kashmir because of its geo-political and ethnic line up inherently possessed the ingredients considered conducive to the growth of terrorism. These may be summarized as follows:

- a) Existence of self-conscious, segregated, ethnic, cultural and religious minorities;
- b) Prevalence of self-conscious feelings of economic deprivation, political oppression and poor job opportunities;
- c) Denial or lack of voting rights;
- d) External encouragement and inspiration;
- e) Situation of acute un-employment; and
- f) Failure of political leadership to overcome people's frustration providing ideological content to violence.

The situation was thus ripe. Pakistan just moved in with greater and more intensified emphasis on training, enhancement of financial endowments and sophisticated weaponry.

Terrorism in Kashmir is the child born out of the unholy liason between secessionism and fundamentalism. The purpose of terrorism is to terrorize. Targets are not always restricted to policemen, politicians, soldiers or beaurocrats. The strikes are designed to hurt the common people. When a child is killed in the cross-firing, the casualty represents no mistake. The terrorist actually seeks to undermine the faith of the common man in the Government especially the Police so that the frightened population will depend for its security on the terrorists and not the authorities. In a write-up titled, 'Spawning of the Monster Terrorism' published in September, 1989, I have drawn attention to this phenomenon and asked, 'Have we reached this stage? Has the faith of citizens in the ability of authorities to ensure security, been shaken to the extent that the businessmen have developed nexus with the terrorists and are generally funding their operations?' 'The answer to these and similar other questions,' I had stated, 'have a decisive bearing on the reliable



appraisal of the ground situation and designing of suitable response". Silence from the establishment was the only response.

In the words of Carlos Marighela, an acknowledged authority on the ideology and practices of terrorism, "from the moment a large proportion of the population begin to take his activities seriously, his success is assured. The Government can only intensify repression thus making the lives of citizens harder. Houses would be broken into, Police searches organized, innocent people arrested and communications broken. Police terror would become order of the day and there will be political murders. In short the atmosphere in a political situation of the country will become a military situation." Does not the description fit our situation? I had asked in the same write up.

The terrorists are fighting a literal war. They are indulging in classic tactics of exaggeration and generalizing small and separate grievances and relating them to vague sweeping allegations of atrocities by the Government. As is common practice the World over, language is used not to convince but to destroy the opponent. They do not discuss, they denounce. The security forces are goaded into indiscriminate retaliation involving women and children. Yet powers that be wittingly contribute to the successes of the terrorist designs by falling prey to their tactics. They have succeeded in pushing the establishment into a vicious circle. The provocations are aimed at achieving three separate but inter-related objectives. Hardening of opinion against the authorities, fabrication and exaggeration of Police atrocities particularly allegations against paramilitary forces and wide publicity of reports of such excesses.

Successful action against the terrorist groups remains primarily a matter of prior intelligence, mobilization of public support not merely to stand aside but to actively cooperate with the Government and training, equipping and marshalling of a professional anti-terrorist force in the full combat readiness. Demolition of the morale and allegiance to the militants should be accorded a high priority. Hardcore fanatics may be beyond redemption, but those on the periphery, could and should be convinced of the cause and inability of the leadership to achieve the cause of de-accession. The score-board so far does not do much credit to the State. Even though the quality and quantum of intelligence has shown improvement during the past few months, it is difficult to accept the official claim that they have turned the corner in this crucial area. The public may have had its own reasons to feel unhappy with atleast some of the activities of the terrorist groups but the Government can hardly claim any credit for their discontent. On their own part they have done little if anything to win the confidence of the people. Infact, many incidents of mindless use of force like the recent Magharmal shoot-out have only widened the already yawning gap between the people and administration. The creation of an effective modern

e hopelessness of the



anti-terrorist force is yet a far dream. The J&K Police continues to be out of the reckoning in anti-terrorist drive. It is a pity that powers that be have failed to recognize the basic fact that without the active and committed involvement of J&K Police, the battle against terrorism can never be won.

Straws in the political wind are indicative of a drift which, if properly channelized, will have a decisive impact on the future of terrorism in J&K. Firstly, the "Azadi" as initially somewhat childish perceived, was nowhere round the corner. In their over-enthusiasm, the militants grossly under-rated the staying power of Republic of India. Secondly, the fast mushrooming groups and gangs grandiosely labelling themselves as Armies and forces, are found now at loggerheads with each other. There is also no dearth of criminal elements, attracted by the chances of easy-picking, apparently afforded by the tactics of 'extortion' as a means for raising funds for the 'cause'. To an ordinary citizen, bank robbery is a bank robbery, whether committed for personal gains or on the pretext of providing finances for the 'movement'. Political assassination of popular political figures like Moulvi Farooq and Moulana Masoodi, have lowered the prestige of militants in the eyes of general public. Thirdly, the harrowing experience of many a youngsters sent to Pak for training in terrorism at the hands of the Pakistani mentors, publicly exposed by some on return to homes and unpublicized misbehaviour with lady recruits has provoked anger in Kashmir. The night-marish consequences of the Punjabi domination in the event of Pak hegemony materializing have bounced back with the force of suddenly released coiled springs under great pressure. Fourthly, emergence of recognizable signs of fatigue and the erosion of supremacy in the field, have badly shaken both the combatants and their leaders. The ability to quickly replenish losses in men and material has not been of much help in fighting these symptoms. Thus, it may be seen that if the operations launched by the government have missed the mark, the terrorists are in noway as well placed as they were in 1990. The question, therefore, raises as to where do we go from here? Any reasonably rational forecast of events must take into account certain basic assumptions. Firstly the continued support by Pakistan to the militancy in Kashmir in men and material and diplomacy may be assumed. Secondly, the resources of the Indian Republic are inexhaustible. Its control on J&K territory both de-facto and de-jure will remain intact.

The vital factors, which are liable to be influenced include the quality of policy frame, implementation of plans of action and general conduct of governance, may be summarized as follows:

#### 1. International World opinion :

Pakistan's efforts to win support for the cause of Kashmir militancy in international fora, especially in the muslim countries, have not proved successful. She, however, expects the situation to change in the post-gulf war era. The focus is sought to be concentrated on the non-implementation of the UN



resolutions and to bring the Kashmir issue at par with Kuwait and Palestine. Iraq is, it is argued, facing the wrath of UN for failure to comply with the UN resolutions. The Secretary General of UN is on record to have offered an international conference on the question of Palestine for obtaining compliance of the UN resolutions. Why not similar concern for implementation of UN resolution on Kashmir? It will be more and more noisily demanded from the pulpits. To battress their case, Pakistan may even be willing to create pre-conditions listed for the holding of Plebiscite. Greater pressure will be mounted in the days to come to take advantage of dominant theme of 'self-determination, that has led to the collapse of the mighty Soviet Empire in Europe. There will also be greater emphasis on the alleged violation of human rights in Kashmir, again an issue on which the world public opinion is hyper-sensitive. These thrusts in this sensitive area can hardly be countered by an attitude of complacency. Any worthwhile success achieved by Pakistan internationally will strengthen the cause and capacity of terrorists to persist in their activities.

#### Support from the people of Kashmir

This obviously is the most decisive factor in the situation. It should be remembered that in essence the battle that is being waged in Kashmir, is for the minds of muslims of Kashmir. Prima-facie, the people in Kashmir find themselves almost caught between the two kinds of terrorism, one being practised by Pakistani inspired militants and the other by the paramilitary forces. It is of little consequence as to whether this feeling is actually justified or not. Ways and means have to be found to correct this distortion and convince the people that the security forces were acting in their interest and not against them. And, it is not going to be easy to do so. Honest, deliberate and decisive moves both in operations, public relations and day-to-day administration would be necessary to achieve this objective. Infact, on the failure or success in this area, will depend the future of terrorists and indeed that of the Indian state.

#### National Public Opinion

The terrorists have scored some notable successes in this sphere. The so-called liberal public opinion has become alarmed at the signs of 'decay and disruption' and are applying pressure for concessions to the militants. One hears educated and otherwise enlightened people complaining that with the huge amount of financial resources sunk in the Valley over the past four decades, number of Kashmirs could have been built in the deserts of Rajasthan. The air is filled with the doom song. The political pandits predict disaster while the man in the street shakes his head in dismay and murmurs 'Kashmir is lost'. This drift could indeed have disastrous effect on national will. It is vital that the people for the Country and world are told that only a small part of J&K and minority of its population is affected and much less involved in the terrorist movement. Out of 10 3968 sq.Kms. that constitute the territory of J&K, at a liberal estimate about 4000 Sq.Kms. can be said to be affected. The Jammu and Ladakh regions are totally un-involved, while the terrorist support in the Valley is confined to Srinagar city and its sub-urbs, towns of



Anantnag, Baramulla, Sopore, Kupwara, Handwara and some pockets on the Highway and district roads. This reality needs to be highlighted through a massive PR campaign to sustain the national morale.

#### Future Operations

With the opening of passes, the transborder movement, precautions by security forces notwithstanding will increase. There are also indications that ISI may undertake future training of terrorists in the J&K itself. The heavy cost of taking the recruits to the occupied territory and back is proving unacceptable. Delivery of weapons is considered comparatively easy and less cumbersome. Stock-piling of weapons, sufficient to sustain the terrorists for atleast a year or more, is already reported to have taken place.

Even in a classical situation the rebellion in towns soon moves on to the launching of guerilla war in the country side for which the urban struggle is a necessary preparation. Infact, the shift of the scene to the rural areas is already evident. In the past couple of weeks, south Kashmir that has the districts of Pulwama and Anantnag, has become theatres of terrorist strikes. Even otherwise as the pressure mounts in cities and towns and the public, for variety of reasons, become cool, the terrorists may find it tactically desirable to seek anonymity in vaster landscapes and safety in jungles and mountains.

Doda district seems to be pretty high on the agenda of terrorists. A good number of trained and armed militants are already positioned in this mountainous district, topographically ideal for guerilla action. The administrative response to the few probing moves, have been encouraging to the militants. The line of supply via Gool Gulabgarh, Budhal and Rajouri will be easy to commission during the summer. The communication with the Valley by road as also through jungle tracks will also then be open. Infact, there are reasons to believe that the militants there are in a state of alert awaiting a green signal from across LAC. Escalation in Doda is bound to cause a sympathetic response in the border districts of Poonch and Rajouri, where the administration has admirably maintained a grip on the situation and sustained a near-normal administrative functioning.

Terrorism is going to be with us for a long time to come. (Infact, the chances of a combined move by the Punjabi and Kashmiri militantss involving Jammu region as a whole appear to be bright. Jammu city is actively in the process of getting involved). The aim should, therefore, be to confine it to an acceptable degree where it may just remain an irritant. The control over Kashmir has to be physically reasserted and the confidence of the people won back. The greater involvement of the local administration especially J&K Police is a pre-requisite for successful conduct of campaign against terrorism. Perhaps there is still time to tame the monster and bring back peace and amity in the troubled valley. The Indian nation has both the capacity and opportunity to do so. Will the people at the helm fail the nation once again?



# WHITHER TERRORISM

BY  
MANMOHAN WAZIR

Changes in human affairs of a far-reaching character have taken place through war, rebellion, insurrection and other forms of armed conflict. The innate desire of man to live in peace over the past five thousand years has proved more of an illusion than a reality. A substantial proportion of the world's population has been involved in various types of struggles. Differing ethnological and social systems, large migrations of population and religious fundamentalism help only to generate or otherwise influence the already existing religious, racial, cultural, regional, linguistic and other tensions. In our own country, we have been witnessing this in the North-East Punjab, Kashmir and some regions in the South. Alienated minorities such as Gorkhas of the Hill Districts of North Bengal belonging to turbulent and verile ethnic stock are suited ideally for insurgency while economically well placed groups remain contented. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to take for granted the weaknesses of traditionally suppressed and economically disadvantaged classes. Real or imaginary threats, the feeling of insecurity or neglect by dominant communities adversely influence attitudes and institutions and such social or religious groups become a ready ground for the recruitment of insurgents. This has been demonstrated in the tribal pockets of Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Hill Districts of Bengal, Tripura and to some extent in Punjab and Kashmir also.

2. The modus operandi of terrorists takes the following forms:

- a/ Communal or ethnic unrest manifesting itself in terrorism in key population centres and groups;
- b/ Agrarian agitation leading to civil disobedience and hartals etc;
- c/ Religious extremism leading to unrest and turmoil;
- d/ Acts of sabotage, arson and looting of Government property;
- e/ Attacks on Banks and financial institutions;



- f/ Political murders, kidnappings and assassinations;
- g/ Political unrest leading to law and order problems;
- h/ Raids, ambushes and selected forms of intimidation against security forces;
- i/ Spying, sabotage, hijackings and other treasonable acts against the state; and
- j/ Anti-national actions, propaganda and subversive acts.

The intention behind such acts is to undermine the faith of the people in the ability of the State to protect them and thus smoothen the ground for the achievement of their objective.

3. It is now possible to categorise terrorist groups operating at various places in the world today. We have (a) non-State supported groups such as anti-abortionists whose targets of attack are abortion clinics. (b) State sponsored groups which receive weapons training and other logistical and administrative support from sovereign nations such as Libya, Syria, Iran, Cuba, Palestine, Israel or countries of the Eastern Block.

Effective leadership is essential for any terrorist group if it has to go some distance. It has also to have an extensive support structure to survive for any length of time. A look at the terrorist movements in the world will show that the hardcore leaders of the group are dedicated professionals. They are intelligent and charismatic and generally come from upper income families. Some of these leaders have had professional careers as Physicians, writers or attorneys. George Habash of the P.L.F. for the liberation of Palestine is an American University trained Physician. Bernadine Dohrn is a graduate from Chicago Law School. Ulrike Meinhoff was a talented leftist writer. Characteristic of most of these terrorists' leaders is the fact that they prefer to stay behind in their safe havens while sending out other members to plant the bombs, conduct assassinations or take part in the attacks. Abdu Nidal prefers the safety of Damascus and other havens while his group is engaged in attacks at Rome, Vienna or else-where. Abdu-el-Abbas was not present when his group was executing terrorist plans on the ground.



4. A great deal of planning goes into each terrorist attack. Terrorists do not just get up one fine morning and decide to hijack an aircraft or ship, place a bomb on some establishment or assassinate a public official or a political figure. However, no amount of planning is possible without full information about the target and the environs. This can prove crucial in identifying it and taking evasive action in vulnerable areas. The terrorists must also have some knowledge of their targets ability to ~~respond to their~~ respond to their attack. The actual strike will actually take place after all these aspects are fully assessed.

The Terrorist groups today are very well equipped and organized. They have at their disposal a variety of tactical options. They can bomb buildings or airlines, they can use rockets to attack Police formations and Embassies. They can assassinate Diplomats (Mhatre in Birmingham) and they can take hostages, kidnap innocent victims, kill them (Mushir-ul-Haq and Khera in Kashmir). A decade ago bombs were detonated at night to cause only damage and to minimize the possibility of casualties. Today terrorists plant bombs at times and places designed to step up casualties. When they commit an assassination they are prepared to kill not only the target but every one around the target at the time of the attack. The basic tactics have thus evolved to a new level of lethality. And, the induction of suicide squads has given a new dimension to terrorism. Earlier, the I.R.A. used to call in bomb threats before the devices went off so that Police could clear the area. Now they claim credit after the explosion has murdered and ~~seriously~~ maimed. Sometimes it also happens that more than one out-fit claims responsibility. The mind of the terrorist today is aptly illustrated by the ancient Russian anarchist saying, repeated recently by George Habash of the People's Liberation Front for the Liberation of Palestine. "there are no innocents".

5. What is terrorism? How best can we define it? Before we attempt to do this let us have a look at what noted people have to say:-



Ramirez Sanchez: "Violence is the language Western Democracies can understand".

Mao Tse Tung: "Kill one, frighten ten thousand".

"Power comes from the barrel of a gun"

IRA message after the attempted assassination of British Prime Minister - Margaret Thatcher

"We only have to be lucky once,  
you have to be lucky every time".

An acceptable definition of terrorism is "undeclared covert Warfare".

✓ Dr. Karl Seger - "Terrorism is the use of violence or the threat of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established Government authority when such actions are intended to influence a target group beyond the immediate victim or victims. With due respects to Dr. Seger, I would say that terrorism is a phenomenon which is easier to describe than to define. There is an old story about three blind men attempting to describe an elephant <sup>by</sup> touching different parts of its body. Each blind man described a different animal. The same thing happens when we try to define terrorism. Here it may be pertinent to mention the oft repeated saying that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. If we go deep into this we will understand why it is difficult to define terrorism.

6. In our country the insurgency and terrorist milieu is quite disturbing. The extent to which our internal security environment has deteriorated is best explained by the frequent and large-scale deployment of para-military and even our defence forces for internal security, duties, sometimes on a semi-permanent basis. The socio-political currents which promote regionalism, religious fundamentalism and sub-national identities are a fact of life today. According to available indications they are likely to continue to be so in the near future. Then there are alien interests too. All this adds up to a serious threat to national unity. There is a little evidence of our keenness to counter these in the early stages of their manifestation. With most of the North-East already in the grip of insurgency at various stages and separatist movements continuing in Punjab, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> Assam, the future of India



is unlikely to be free of this malignancy. These movements according to present indications, will continue to get support from elements within the country and enjoy moral, material and other forms of support from Bangladesh, Burma, China, Nepal and Palestine. The attempts by some alien powers to destabilise India will not show a downward trend in the near future. It is in this context that I view with some concern the continued commitment of our security forces and even defence services to internal security duties. Does this have any adverse effect on their morale and general performance? While this is a matter which would doubtless be receiving the attention of the Army and the Home Ministry top brass I for one am in no doubt that the ultimate efficacy of the normal law and order machinery will also be jeopardised. Would it be worthwhile to have an Army Corps set apart permanently for such duties and to be used as an auxiliary force, only during full scale hostilities? Should the normal law and order machinery be made more effective by upgrading its equipment, increasing their number and improving their training? Modernisation of our police forces started three decades ago but the schemes produced results similar to our family planning measures.

7. Has terrorism succeeded anywhere in the world? From what I know know it has not. Nowhere has the objective been achieved. But what precisely can be the objective of a terrorist movement. It can be obtaining of territory or a homeland or restitution of proprietary rights or securing of concessions. The aim is to pressurise the authorities and Governments to do or abstain from doing something that militates against their declared policies. By the very nature of things terrorist movements will be long drawn out and continue to be a source of destabilization to lawful Governments. They will erode public credibility of Governments and undermine the faith of the people in its ability to protect its citizens. This is also an objective of some of the terrorist movements. The I.R.A. movement, the long drawn out terrorist movement in Italy, the terrorist activities of the Narcotics, Mafia in Columbia and the decades old movement of Abu Nidal and his group are just some of the instances in point. In spite of a heavy toll of death and destruction



spread over decades we cannot say the movements are approaching success on the ground anywhere. The sponsors of such terrorist movements are perhaps aware that ultimate success will be elusive but their motto seems to be : "We may or may not succeed but we will not let you rest in peace".

8. We have spent quite some time on carrying out a post-mortem examination of the phenomenon of present day terrorism. We have also examined its anatomy. Let us now get nearer home and examine the scenario in Kashmir. To what extent has the manifestly separatist movement in the valley been successful and to what extent have the authorities been able to contain it? It is nothing but self-deception to believe that the movement is the result of frustration among the youth caused primarily by large-scale unemployment and bad governance. Kashmir has had its share of bad governance and unemployment but no more than the rest of the country, certainly less than Eastern U.P., Bihar, Orissa and the tribal belt in Madhya Pradesh. Why have such movements not erupted in these areas? There is also talk of under-development of the valley. This may be true but I do not think this is a cause for a separatist movement.
9. The Kashmir today is smarting under a feeling of injustice, unfair play and some sort of oppression. There have been a number of cases of undue torture and molestation of women folk. While it may not be possible to eliminate such incidents completely, we have to do justice and it should explain to the people that the country is serious about it. The Kashmiri must be convinced that justice and fair play are indeed integral canons of its policies. What would, therefore, be done to restore a semblance of normalcy and peace to the happy valley? I have some ideas on this subject. They may be impractical, utopian or conceived without regard to the ground realities. I will accept such criticism but the very fact that we have started thinking in terms of restoring normalcy is in itself a welcome development. I think we are at the cross roads just now. With firmness, imagination and sympathy we can deal with the situation gracefully and ensure that we go on the right track. The Kashmiri is basically peace loving and his patience is now exhausted with the terrorists as well as with us for our past and present wrong doings. It is, therefore, time for us to think of some short term and long term measures for restoring normalcy in the happy valley. Here are some:



- i/ Phased return of migrants. This could be done according to a carefully worked out plan. In the earlier stages only un-encumbered families be persuaded to return to such specified areas which fall in high security zones such as Gupkar Road, Rajbagh, Residency Road, Jawahar Nagar, Indira Nagar, Cogli Bagh etc. Safe and secured settlements could also be temporarily organized;
- ii/ Restoration of institutions systematically demolished by terrorists, restarting of Cinema Halls, Clubs, Video Parlours etc. on a selective basis.
- iii/ Normalising of Civil Police functions. Here we have to remember the old saying: "Trust begets trust". Let us have set-backs to begin with but let us not give up;
- iv/ Increased entrustment of administrative responsibility to State service officers and cadre officers of the State, specially selected for sensitive duties;
- v/ A firm policy as regards continuation of liquor licenses, stress on prohibition through persuasion and not through litigation, use of religious heads for this purpose;
- vi/ Resumption of buildings and roads, construction works by Central agencies like the CPWD and MES.
- vii/ Phased normalisation of the functioning of AIR and Doordarshan. Special screening of Cultural Programmes in keeping with the local sensibilities;
- viii/ Increased involvement of the security forces and the Army in relief and rehabilitation works to project a benevolent and kindly image;
- ix/ Special employment drive. A method of selection that is not only fair but appears to be so. Opening<sup>up</sup> of avenues of employment outside the State
- x/ A judicious employment based transport policy in which personal favours and tainted largesses are totally eliminated;
- xi/ A major boost to development works. Special consideration to J&K State in the matter of allotment of central grants;
- xii/ Revival of literary and cultural activities. Artists of National repute should perform in selected centres in the valley.



xiii/ Association of students in the administration of educational institutions. Advice of eminent Educationists to be obtained about the best way of doing this. Full development and encouragement of sports activities among students;

xix/ A total review of the educational policy. Today's education is degree oriented and not employment oriented. There is talk of vocational education but little implementation. Experts should go into the matter of restricting admissions to University courses. Premiscuous churning out of MA's and LLB's only deepens frustration because the employment market cannot absorb them;

xx/ Revival of political activity. To be done in a judicious and guarded manner. A low key start would be advisable. Senior Political leaders should think of returning to the valley and staying there. They could become a nucleus for a some-what feeble political activity to begin with. The leaders have to be tolerant, sympathetic, dedicated, <sup>brave</sup> ~~lowe~~ and above every thing be honest. We may experience a dearth of leaders with these qualities not only in the State but elsewhere too. A beginning will have to be made with the best available. The leaders will need to be brave because it is not possible nor desirable to tie up every terrorist on a tree top to enable them to restart political activity.

xxi/ Vigorous publicity support, intelligently handled. In this context the National Press too needs a few lessons. One day we read in a leading daily on the front page that 35 soldiers killed by the militants and the very next day the same paper says in an implied manner that nothing of the sort had happened. The nation may forgive such tendentious reporting but only after it is told how the errant correspondent has been punished.

xxii/ Eradication of corruption from all spheres of human activity. Let us not say that this is a global phenomenon. Let the light come once again from Kashmir in this direction too; We have to eliminate "Noor Jamals" wherever they are. Now, who are these "Noor Jamals". A fictional character, Noor Jamal was the son of a Head Priest who was adjudicating a case presented by the local Kotwal against some boys who had partaken of a feast in which forbidden meat was served. The punishment of 1 ostracism



Ostracisation for two years is ready for being handed out when the Head Priest's wife comes in hurriedly and whispers in his ears "Noor Jamal, our son, also joined the feast". Prompt came the judgement; "Jithe Sarho Noor Jamal, Othe Gadho Khotto Sab Halal". Unfortunately this wretched Noor Jamal has entered our temples also were inspite of serious allegations against one of the Mahants, his other colleagues, with tongue-in-cheek perhaps, announce that unless the allegations are conclusively proved they will not interfere with the performance of religious duties by their colleague. For allegations of a less serious nature the upright local Superintendent of Police had transferred to the Police Lines the errant Sub-Inspector. This then is the Noor Jamal Culture which the Kashmiries as indeed all Indians hate most. Kashmir become part of India in 1947 but our presiding deity continued to be Noor Jamal. Terrorism in Kashmir would have perhaps served some purpose if his last rites are performed even now.

and

xxiii/ All talk of abrogation or even adulteration of Article 370 of the Constitution to stop. Political parties should arrive at a consensus on this issue. The emotional content of this article for the Kashmiries has to be appreciated in right perspective.

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## TERRORISM AND STATE RESPONSE

The developing internal security scenario in the country is quite disturbing. The manifestation of violence in various forms is on increase. The social equilibrium seems to have been disturbed. The hiatus between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' is increasingly widening. Very recently the whole of India was under severe grip of lawlessness, collective violence in the form of communal riots and violent clashes. The reaction on Mandal Commission was unexpectedly virulent and violent. The Rath Yatra, wittingly or unwittingly aroused the passion of the people to such an extent that large number of people were killed, maimed and subjected to various other forms of brutalities including arson and loot. It is sad that the Indian society and polity is being gradually communalised and brutalised. There is growing tendency on the part of the people to take law in their own hands. This has visibly diluted the authority of the State.

2- Apart from riots and other social strife, we are witnessing increased activity of terrorism including secessionism. The problem in Punjab is now continuing without any appreciable change for better since last one decade. Jammu and Kashmir is facing extreme type of terrorism and inspired secessionism since more than a year. The situation in Assam is also not very satisfactory. Reportedly, the LTTE were very active in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, terrorism in India is a reality and we have to face it. The correct handling of terrorism and its containment requires an in-depth study of the causes and genesis of terrorism. The manifestation of terrorism and consequent overt act may be similar but its causes are different in various areas. Therefore, its handling also requires to be suited to a particular area, keeping in view the ethos of local population, their sub-culture and their pattern of reaction in a given situation. Unfortunately, there is a tendency on the part of the State machinery to simplify the whole issue and dub the whole area/people/community as terrorist/anti-social/anti-national. Simplistic solutions like bullet for bullet, indiscriminate search, arrest and consequent humiliation, etc. are not going to be effective. There is always a temptation on the part of the State machinery to camouflage the real issues, their weaknesses and their own failures. Even gimmicks are resorted to prove their efficacy and effectiveness. Disinformation and false propaganda are often resorted to, to give temporary relief/success. In the war between state apparatus and the terrorists, we forget the most vital component, i.e. people of the area. It is very unfortunate that innocent people become the real victim. The tendency on the part of the security forces to over-react and assume the role of a judge and executionist is not only dangerous but totally against the legal/constitutional order of the country. The reaction of the law enforcing agency has to be



different from the action of a terrorist outfit. In a constitutional polity where every action has to be covered under some provision of law, arbitrary and indiscriminate punitive action is not only improper but highly illegal. "The stiff law and order measure (many times crossing the parameters of Rule of Law) may achieve temporary peace in a bottled-up manner but in fact it may prove misleading and at times counter-productive". The ruthless suppression of a terrorist outfit is needed and necessary but the counter-offensive by the State forces in an indiscriminate manner, obliterating the distinction between a terrorist and an innocent civilian/population, is not only illegal but counter-productive. Any State action which lacks legality is the very anti-thesis of governance. Any legal system stripped of morality is like a human body deprived of flesh and blood. Terrorists are criminals and they should be treated as criminals. Therefore, their strategy, their techniques should not be adopted and copied by the State apparatus. It is an experience of history that terrorism has never been contained by counter-terrorism. When such a strategy is adopted the State forces become at par with the terrorist and other criminals. Therefore, it breeds further contempt which alienates the people.

3- Another dangerous portent is that certain individuals of a State machinery from a caucus of their own and develop a vested interest in the continuance of terrorism. They try to make themselves indispensable by various means including false propaganda about others and highlighting (falsely) their own achievements. In any legal system, any functionary without accountability is worse than a terrorist. Therefore, what is needed is a system of accountability. The professionalism should not take a back seat. After all the whole State machinery is for the people and not vice versa. Officers and other State functionaries who fail to inspire the people and lose their faith should not be allowed to rule the roost. Only the first-rate professional should be put at the helm of affairs.

4- Some of the means and strategy to fight terrorism, could be suggested as under:

- a) The power of search, seizure and arrest should not be given to para-military forces. It should remain with the local Police. Some effective and viable system has to be evolved for effecting a harmonious relation between the local Police and Para-military forces.
- b) The local administration should neither be humiliated nor ignored.
- c) Officers of State Police should command their own force and should not abdicate their responsibility and bask under the protection and performance of some other force.
- d) The other para-military forces may provide additional protection but total alienation of senior officers of the State Police including magistracy is the most demoralising thing for administration, which widens the gulf between the public and administration. The apparatus



of local administration should be strengthened and involved effectively in policy formulations and its execution.

- e) Attempts should be made to segregate the terrorist from the general public. We may hit the terrorist hard but even the splinters should not touch an innocent person. Let the Anglo-Saxon legal proverb "99 criminals may get scot-free, but a single innocent person should not be punished", prevail.

5. In a democratic society the ultimate is the political solution. Therefore, the bureaucratic contemptuous approach towards politician and public opinion maker should not be allowed to persist and prevail. At every stage, public opinion maker should be associated with the administrative process. Otherwise, some state functionaries tend to become ruthless, despotic, nasty and brutish.

6. As terrorism signifies the failure of a system, the onus of rectification should not be passed on to the Police alone. The judiciary, the magistracy and other State functionaries should also be made accountable.

7. Terrorism, most of the times, is a violent manifestation of the bottled up grievance (genuine or non-genuine) of the people of a particular area or group and, therefore, any ever-lasting solution will require the redressal of grievances of the people. This will require, on the part of the State to negotiate, interact with the people. The Government approach should reflect its honesty. Vindictive or "teach them a lesson" attitude will lead us to nowhere.

8. Time has come to arrive at a national consensus to have a well thought approach to manage the social strife in all its manifestations including the terrorism. We have played with the gallery for long. Now it is time for productivity oriented actions. The administration has to be just and fair. "Amidst clash of arms laws are not silent". Morality and neutrality has to be reintroduced and re-emphasised in the administration. If we fail to do this, terrorism and other violent deviant behaviour are likely to increase, rather than decrease.

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THE INWARD GAZE: TERRORISM THE GENESIS WITHIN

AIMA\* & GUPTA\*\*

SEMINAR ON  
WEITHER TERRORISM

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## INTRODUCTION

The antithetical equation between the past and the future, creates in every system a crucial and determining conflict. Conflict also emerges as a consequence of the existing configuration of institutional arrangements and the ones that are eager to emerge on the horizon of a contemporary, multidimensional, complicated, and demanding environment. Numerous instances in history illustrate that groups, civilizations and even nations, had to suffer extinction, and disintegration due to failure of the social, political, administrative and intellectual visions in ~~erecting~~ catering to the challenges of ensuing change. A system with a slavish addiction to a static core matrix fights and resists change<sup>fully</sup> becomes the arresting component, against a world of fluidity, which demands creative insight, sensitivity, vision, focus, co-operation and versatility besides other factors. Implied essence of change to any dynamic society can hardly be over emphasized. Thus, societal change, ~~perse~~, cannot become analogous to diverse systems/sub-systems, functioning under a different socio-economic and geo-political environment. In a typical transitional society, unless the conflict emanating from such changes occurring within the system, are not understood in a proper perspective and managed with foresight and realism, an inevitable societal chaos is bound to engulf the very fabric of such a society. This chaos may get manifested in the form of terrorism, a call for secession, and other disintegrating occurrences. Modern society as a mass society has vastly altered its contours and no longer lends itself to any assured or set definition. Flux as a itinerant component of modernism, inspired by rapid changes in the structure of society, demands a totally new approach in combating the eruptions initiated by societal change.

contd...2



### THE INDIAN SCENARIO

The post-independence era in India witnessed government embarking upon massive socio-economic developmental programmes in order to bring about societal changes keeping in view the stated national objectives. To bring about the desired socio-economic transformation two important instruments effecting such changes were available on the eve of independence: The State bureaucracy which served the colonial rulers for nearly 250 years, the other being a political party, the Indian National Congress which played a key role in attaining freedom for the country.

Thus, the job of bringing about societal transformation in order to create an egalitarian society, in which equal opportunities would be available to masses under a democratic set-up, was entrusted to a well organised and entrenched bureaucracy and the National Indian Congress, political party in power. In the aftermath of the sixties, the big business also emerged on the scene as a corollary to post-independence progress and development.

Thus, in the Indian perspective three important, rather crucial variables: State bureaucracy, business sector and political ethos, have had a decisive and profound impact on the polity in the context of the fulfillment of the aspirations of the general masses on economic <sup>and</sup> socio-political front. The role of each of these three factors, individually and collectively becomes significant in context of societal conflict, of which terrorism is one of the manifestations, vis-a-vis the <sup>current</sup> economic and political upheavals ~~existent~~ present in the country. It is firmly believed that the above stated factors have greatly contributed to socio-economic and socio-political impasse afflicting our country at present.



ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY:-

Bureaucracy provided an essential link between the masses and colonial rulers in the pre-independence era. After independence, this vast bureaucratic set-up did not undergo any significant and emancipative restructuring in order to become relevant to the changed social, economic, and political imperatives of an independent polity. As a consequence, bureaucracy, even today, continues to be the legacy of the British rulers, who used it as a mechanism of power and routine day-to-day administration of the colony on behalf of the English monarch, thousands of miles away.

In the post-independence era bureaucracy identified itself with rulers as a static monolith, having little to do with the aspirations of the common people. An inevitable contradiction arose in the role of the bureaucracy in free India, when it was entrusted with the task of planning, and initiating massive socio-economic societal transformation. Under the new dispensation bureaucrats became uncrowned overlords and self appointed custodians of a society replacing the Britishers. This inscrutable monolithic bureaucracy created for itself means and avenues for enormous power, luxury, money power and muscle power besides other privileges akin to those enjoyed by the British rulers.

The pre-requisites of economic development and planning demands mobility, vertical as well as horizontal, appraisals and an adaptation to its imperatives. The bureaucracy remained chronically indifferent to the ideas of economic reforms, as it would necessarily involve a dilution of bureaucracy's power and privileges. It is therefore paradoxical that instead of working as an instrument of socio-economic change, the bureaucracy simply sabotaged and resisted any genuine attempts in this direction.



With deliberate design and manipulations bureaucracy subjugated common masses to a worst type of perpetual economic and political chaos and uncertainty, simply to retain its stranglehold, over the socio-political system. A new class of neo-rich emerged from the ranks of plebian bureaucrats who not only facilitated conditions for societal conflict but also abetted it. Thus, it is not surprising that these very institutions in the contemporary scenario have become the protagonists of the current turmoil and conflict, with the hope that under new dispensation, a corrupt and feudalistic bureaucracy could legitimise its illgotten wealth, and at the same time command respectability and control over the levers of society. Bureaucracy has now developed a very close link with political and business power structure. In fact, it has been engineering a type of economic and political adhocism breeding uncertainty, gloom and indifference among the people.

#### ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES:

With few exceptions those politicians who participated in the freedom struggle started demanding their price in the post-independence period for their sacrifices. Massive developmental programmes alongwith amorphous growth in the state bureaucratic structure, generated scores of opportunities for self-seeking politicians to reap the benefits of change. With the passage of time such has been the erosion, of value based politics that at present winning potential and not credibility becomes the muscle power to acquire a political base. Mafia dons and underworld lords help political personalities and enjoy their patronage in return, making a mockery of the institution of democracy. Politicians



have as a well conceived strategy kept the pot boiling by using religion, caste, region, etc. as the basis to exploit the illiterate and gullible common man. Politics has become a commercial venture in which the tenure of stay in power is used to secure and earn maximum power and money, to last for generations to come. Thus, it is not surprising that fake political leadership,  $\frac{1}{2}$  unrepresentative in character, has created ideal conditions for societal conflict of which terrorism is one of the main offshoots. Politics has become a family legacy; common man is deprived and isolated from participating in it. The type of hold and the status of an underworld don could determine his prospects in the political hierarchy, used exclusively to plunder the very essence and wealth of the polity.

Terrorism apart from other factors has been directly abetted and encouraged by the rank and file of most of the 'aya ram, gaya ram' neetas to create societal anarchy. For thus, purpose bureaucracy has supplemented and complimented politicians as a vast strata of bureaucrats flourish with impunity because of their political connections and loyalties. Genuine political aspirations have got to be differentiated from those which find expression in looting and killings to retain the hold on the power and privileges.

#### ROLE OF BUSINESS

In the post-independent era, business ethos has undergone a metamorphic change. Business ethics and values have got substituted by manipulations and conceit. Debasing bureaucracy and politics by business houses, by offering huge sums of money and other allurement, has made state apparatus subservient to its vested interest. Today, business claims to purchase any thing and every thing among bureaucrats and politicians so that most of the business opportunities which are thrown up by the vast developmental programmes and market expansion, remain confined to few hands. Besides,



robbing the national economy of billions of rupees by fraudulent malpractices, business has become symbolic of rank opportunism and favouritism.

As a consequence, to hold to the monopolistic power, business facilitates societal conflicts by widening the gap between "haves" and "havenots". Economic deprivations of toiling millions, thus, does find expression in terrorism. The labouring masses feel cheated and swindled out of their hopes and expectations.

#### THE NEXUS

Thus, it is quite apparant that in Indian scenario the triangular nexus operating vis-a-vis bureaucracy, politicians and big business has created a vicious circle in which conflicts are engineered and manipulated to hold on to the feudalistic stranglehold over the masses. This trilogy has combined well not only to maintain a perpetual stranglehold over society, but also to protect and further each other's interests. India today is not divided into hundreds of princely states, but is fragmented into thousands of power structures and units built by this unholy and opportunistic combine. Therefore, to expect a harmonious and unified national perspective is virtually pipe-dreaming. Terrorism will continue to flourish as long as this nexus continues and controls the vital levers of society.

#### CONCLUSION

Terrorism in India is not purely an administrative problem as a bureaucrate would like to present it, nor is it going to be eliminated by sheer force alone. Unless common masses are not made participants in societal functioning, terrorism is going to stay for long. In this type of a class war, these instruments of societal development have got to be replaced, who as of today, have generated more corruptions rather than providing succour to the



the deprived and the underprivileged. This replacement necessarily implies a change in the intent and content of these institutional variables as it is not possible to make a structural replacement of these under the given socio-economic and political set-up. A reality has to dawn on the neo-feudal lords from the above cited nexus that we are all sitting on a simmering ~~vul~~ volcano, which as and when erupts is going to engulf all. The castles of power and privileges are going to be the first victims of this volcanic eruption. No military solution or administrative doles are going to suppress the genuine awakening of the masses unless democracy works for the common masses and practically realizes their hopes and aspirations.



A CASE STUDY OF ANTI TERRORIST OPERATIONS IN  
RAJOURI AND POONCH DISTRICTS OF J&K STATE

INTRODUCTION:

1. This paper has been prepared for presentation in a Seminar on "Whither Terrorism" being organized by the J&K Regional Branch of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in Jammu in February, 1991. The Seminar is a sequel to a similar exercise which was conducted in 1986, on the same topic. The papers read then and speeches delivered had reflected the prevailing situation in Punjab as ineventable backdrop. The seminar was very successful. Unfortunately inspite of excellent analysis on all aspects of terrorism with a real-life situation of Punjab in the background, we failed to take advantage of the collective wisdom, in either anticipating the building of storm on the horizon of J&K or recognizing its extent in the initial stage and taking effective measures to tackle it. Today we are in the thick of fight against full-fledged terrorism in this State, with all its ugly manifestations, trying to come to grips with it for over one year. The efforts have started yeilding results, one hopes the process is irreversible. Only time will segregate guilty men and heroes. Retributions and rewards may not be the trude indicators. One only hopes, in the third instalment, we would be taking in the past-tense.

2. In the previous seminar I had contributed a paper on the subject of "Armed Forces and Terrorism". It was largely a theoretical exercise, drawing heavily from the written material on Punjab with some practical experience of mine gathered during my service in the army. Little did I then realize that after few years I would become part of the apparatus charged with the task of combating terrorism and a very significant aspect of my assignment would involve interacting with and optimum utilization of armed forces.

AIM

3. I would not dwell into the factors responsible for the rise of terrorism in J&K and various other aspects of it, as these would be adequately dealt with by other friends. The aim of this paper is to share the experience of the dynamics of anti-terrorist operations being conducted in Rajouri and Poonch districts involving Army, Para-military, Police and Civil Administration over the period of April, 1990 to January, 1991, the time frame which saw the rapid rise of militant activities to its peak followed by relative decline like the top segment of a typical sine-graph.

General

4. Rajouri and Poonch are the two districts of the Jammu Division, located in the north-west of Jammu city, comprising of a total area of 4.034 Sq.Kms. of mostly hilly belt. The population, as per 1981 Census, comprising of 559 villages is 5.27 lacs, out of which over 75% is muslim and the rest mostly hindus and almost 15000 sikhs. The muslim population is further divided into groups of Gujjar, Bakerwal, Rajput, Kashmiri origin, etc. The main economic activity is agrarian based coupled with government employment. The infra-structure in terms of communications and social services is fairly well dispersed and reasonably developed.



5- The area shares a long border of over 200 Kms. with POK, in the form of Line of Actual Control. This border is entirely hilly ranging from 4000 ft. to 12000 ft. high peaks, covered with jungles and a large number of negotiable passes. The terrain itself makes guarding of the border a very difficult task and transborder movement not so difficult. Pir Panjal range divides this area from the Valley. The passes of this range and higher reaches of border being snow-covered during winter makes movement over Pir Panjal to the Valley extremely difficult and risky from December to March. However, during rest of the year the shortest and easiest routes from a number of militant training camps in POK, pass through Rajouri-Poonch, including the famous Mughal Route. During winter months the access between Valley and POK follows circuitous alternatives from the lower hills/plains of the region through Jammu/Udhampur Districts. The population living on both sides of the border is very well conversant with the lay of the ground and is in a position to use the physical features for transborder movement.

6. The impact of traumatic developments of 1947-48 in J&K State was felt in this area with great intensity, resulting into large scale destruction of life and property. Rajouri town had been captured by the raiders who had pushed even beyond Budhal area. Poonch city barely managed to keep itself away from the clutches of the enemy, thanks to its brave defenders and courageous population. In 1965 again, sizeable infiltration fought on the border, number of engagements with infiltrators took place deep inside our territory. During 1971 there was comparatively much less military action in relation to the happenings of 1947-48 and 1965. Thus military operations are nothing new for the people here. They were well understand the dangers of disturbances to their life and property and are equally adept in dealing with such crises.

#### GROUND SITUATION:

7. With the advantage of hindsight, it is now clear that the people who mastermind and controlled the terrorist activities in the State, primarily concentrated on the Valley, with the developments in Rajouri-Poonch being used in a supporting role. All activities which were carried out in and for the Valley were also repeated in the area, but on a reduced scale. Motivators were identified and activated, cells of volunteers and sympathizers were created and persons taken to POK for armed training. During the winter of 1989-90, over 100 youth from villages of Mendhar-Surankote - Poonch belt crossed over to POK for training purposes. The process of return of these youth from training camps, alongwith arms, ammunition and explosives started in January, 1990. On 26th January, 1990, a low grade blast took place in Surankote and, for the first time, some black flags were found placed on poles and tree-tops. The beginning of militant activities almost synchronized with its shifting into a high gear in the Valley. But the limited number of trained militants, a better vigil on the borders by security forces, a efficacy of the Police and civil administration made the extremists, who by now had a separate Area Commander for this region, to lie low and concentrate more on organizational work rather than overt activities.



However, the local population could not remain indifferent to the presence of these elements. Minorities and persons of known secular views had started feeling apprehensive.

8. Such was the ground condition when post of a Special Commissioner and Special DIG was created by the State Government for these two districts. The Special Commissioner assumed duties in the first week of April, 1990 and the DIG in the third week of the same month. District Superintendents of Police of both the districts were also new, having arrived only a month earlier. A new Deputy Commissioner for Poonch was posted in ending April, the earlier incumbent having been transferred on health ground. D.C. Rajouri with two years stay was the only link in the name of administrative continuity. So a brand new team started functioning with the headquarters of Commissioner and DIG at Rajouri.

#### SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

9. This was the time when militant activity was at its peak in the Valley and its spill-over effect was expected to manifest itself in this area also. Fortunately the instruments of the State had not been blunted as yet and the civil administration could respond to proddings and controls. It was decided to go all out after the militant elements and as far as possible keep the initiative with the administration. Intensive touring was undertaken with a view to meet cross-section of population and instill confidence in them as well as mobilize the administrative machinery for the purpose of increasing developmental activities and create an atmosphere of normalcy.

10. The exertions of the local Police and security forces in continuously raiding the suspected hideouts of the militants paid off when three Pak-trained militants were apprehended in the Surankote area during first week of May. Another luck break followed within ten days. Based on information that a group of militants had gone to Bombay to evade arrest and lie low for the time-being and become active at an appropriate moment, a Police party was despatched to Bombay. With the help of local Police, this party was able to arrest five trained militants. The Police personnel involved in these two operations were quickly rewarded. At this point the initiative was unmistakably seized by the administration with the determination of not letting it slip away.

11. While the administration was engaged in gaining the upperhand against the militants, its efforts to mobilize support of the local population recieved a great boost due to visit of a number of dignitaries during this period. Within a month from the last week of April this area was paid visits by the then Railway Minister and Minister of Kashmir Affairs, Union Home Minister and two visits by the Governor's Advisers. The VIPs met people from all walks of life in the region, held public meetings in border and far-flung areas and reviewed law and order situation as well as pace of developmental activities. The local population felt a sense of belonging and of being cared for. It also instilled confidence in them.



12- As things appeared to be going well for the administration, the militants struck. In a well times and calculated act, they looted and killed a hindu trader in one of the villages of Mendhar valley. The intention behind this crime appeared to be to terrorize the local minority population to migrate from the area with the hope that once a tricle of such migration starts from one area, it could easily develop into a regular stream with people from other areas following suit. In addition if the security forces react excessively on this provocation, then some of the local muslims may cross the border and thus become recruits for the training camps. It was a sinister move. But quick and concerted action by security forces and administration in providing and assuring adequate protection to the minorities as well as lack of harassment to local population defeated these designs. With the arrest of the main accused from Rajouri, within a fortnight, apprehensions of a fall out of the unfortunate incident came to an end.

13. Since the activities of the militants were not only limited to the local persons and also took the form of transborder movement to and from the Valley in groups of various sizes upto a number of 50, a constant vigil had to be kept on the border and seal it as effectively as possible within given resources. In addition to guarding the border, security in the depth areas, vital installations and sensitive places had also to be ensured. All these required considerable interaction and coordination between security forces, civil administration and intelligence agencies, at both horizontal and vertical levels. Various methods employed to achieve this and their efficacy would be discussed in detail at a later stage. It is a matter of satisfaction that all organs of the security apparatus in the region have functioned smoothly complementing each others resources rather than dissipating them in inter-organizational disputes. As always, the results can still be improved upon.

14. The practice of use of this border by Kashmir militants recieved a severe set-back when in mid-July, in an encounter with security forces, 33 militants were killed and 10 captured. This encounter effectively jolted them and no major border crossing was attempted after that. Only small groups made attempts, most of which failed. However, with the onset of winter and most of the passing places in the Valley and higher reaches of Poonch being snow bound renewed attempts in lower areas of Poonch and entire Rajouri belt cannot be ruled out. Constant vigil is the only answer.

15. A mention of the sequence of events leading to surrender by trained militants would be in order here. As early as mid-May when the process of arrests of militants had started, the civil administration and security forces started getting feelers that some misguided youth would be willing to surrender before the authorities and lay down their arms if assured of decent treatment. On taking up the matter with the State Government, the policy of surrenders was not only approved but encouraged also. It was expected that by mid-June first batch of militants would surrender, which did not take place due to certain developments. However, on 2nd August, a group of 5 Pak-trained militants alongwith arms and ammunition



surrendered in Surankot Police Station. These were the first ever surrenders in the ongoing militancy and it set a trend which has happily picked up in the Valley. The process of apprehensions and surrenders is still a continuing one.

#### MEASURES TAKEN

16. Whatever success has been achieved in the anti-terrorism drive in this region has been largely due to the well coordinated action of various agencies acting in unison with the purpose of achieving the ultimate national aim. A special mention needs to be made of the role played by the security forces in dealing with the situation with a highly effective combination of firmness and compassion. No doubt there were occasions of honest differences of opinion and at times minor irritations did crop up, but these were eased out in an atmosphere of free and frank discussion keeping the underlying goodwill intact. Some of the important measures undertaken are discussed in succeeding paragraphs.

17. Institutionalised Coordination: The coordination between various agencies engaged in anti-terrorist operations was institutionalized instead of leaving it solely to the inter-personal relationship between individual senior officers. Coordination Committees were set up in the month of May at the regional and district levels, by the office of the Special Commissioner. The apex body was christened as Policy Planning Group and is chaired by the General Officer Commanding with Special Commissioner, Special DIG Police and DIG BSF Rajouri Sector as members. At the district level District Coordination Committees were set up with Deputy Commissioner as the Chairman and District Superintendent of Police, Army and BSF representatives as members. These Committees are required to meet on as required basis, but atleast once a month. Normally the meetings are convened by the Chairman, but can be requisitioned by any member. The experiment has proved of immense value, as all outstanding issues get sorted out in such meetings and joint strategies worked out to be put into operations based on collective appreciation of the emerging situation as well as long term forecasts. The discussions are never compartmentalized. Each officer feels free to discuss any issue which is thought of common interest.

18. As some of the intelligence agencies operate under the sphere of influence of the senior officers sitting on these committees, the intelligence gathering and sharing of tactical information is also achieved, to a considerable extent, in a coordinated manner. The level of cooperation between intelligence agencies was sought to be raised by personal influence and unorthodox means. However, this does remain a grey area inspite of best efforts at various levels and need a serious study.

19. Tight Security Cover: In addition to constant vigil on the borders by the conventional methods of establishing Border Posts coupled with laying of ambushes and purposeful patrolling, a multi-tiered system of deployment of military and para-military forces was put into operation. The positive as well as preventive results of this coordinated deployment and monitoring have been very encouraging. More details of this aspect cannot, for obvious reasons, be discussed here.



20. Winning Confidence of Local Population : Throughout the period of this terrorist movement, the local population, by and large, never became hostile. The armed forces have over the decades of their presence created a fund of goodwill amongst the local population. However, by the beginning of the last year the mood of the public was apprehensive and sullen as exaggerated reports and rumours about the happenings in the Valley started circulating. The process of winning their confidence almost all over again had to be taken in hand.

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21. As already mentioned, visits of a number of dignitaries in April-May was of lot of help in this direction. Contacts were also established, by senior officers of all agencies, with local leaders and through them with the general public impressing upon them the need to cooperate with the security forces and administration in their drive against the terrorists. They were assured that nobody would be harassed and all actions would be taken strictly as per law.

22. Fortunately the cutting edge levels of law and order machinery, the Tehsils and Thanas (Police Stations/Posts) were in a reasonable state of disuse. With some efforts these were revived and made functional. These agencies became very useful two-way contact points between common man and security agencies, and both started depending increasingly on them. For example even though army and BSF have been delegated with powers of search and seizure in the border belt, all searches by these forces are made with the help of the Police. This measure has reassured the local population. Also as a gesture of goodwill, members of the family of confirmed or suspected militants were left free to lead a normal life.

23. One of the basic reasons for disaffection and apprehension amongst the local population is normally the lack of information about the whereabouts of a person picked up in connection with a case or for questioning. In the absence of such information worst is suspected by the relatives and neighbours. Certain amount of openness has been followed in such cases. Whenever a person is apprehended for whatever reasons, his whereabouts are made known to the relations and as soon as possible an opportunity is given to meet him. This one measure has gone a long way in securing the confidence of the local people.

24. All efforts are made to ensure that no excesses are made on any member of the public. However, whenever a complaint of harassment is made by the locals, it is investigated by the civil administration and the officers of the concerned organization. If it is found that a particular person exceeded his sphere of authority,



effective action is taken against him in each and every case and it is ensured that such action is also seen to be taken. Thus the promise that no harassment would be caused to the local population has been ensured in practice and earned for the security forces renewed confidence and respect of the public.

25- The traditional sources of influence and information like Lamberdars (village headmen) and Chowkidars are also tapped to the full by all agencies, especially Revenue and Police. In addition people have been encouraged to approach the nearest available officer of the civil administration or security forces with their demands/requests. It is ensured that these are conveyed to the concerned departments/agencies, through the respective senior officers or committees. Similar procedure is followed by the senior officers on tour. There have been a number of cases where such inter agency coordination has been of benefit to the locals.

26. Redressal of grievances is another sphere where conscious and concerted efforts have been made by the senior officers of the government. In addition to the usual methods of monitoring of application, extensive touring by the officers is ensured to make this process effective.

27. The pace of development activities has been increased both by getting additional funds as well as increasing the tempo of works on ground. Important projects are being regularly monitored at the level of Special Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners.

28. LIMITATIONS : The narration and analysis thus far have been subject to two important limitations. Firstly, during the period under review the State has been under the Governor's and President's rule, therefore, no account has been made of the influence of the political executive on the course of actions/events. Secondly, certain analysis and details, though important in nature, have not been discussed due to security reasons.

### LESSONS LEARNT/RECOMMENDATIONS

29. More Effective Coordination : We have been facing insurgency in one part of the country or the other for the last over three decades, with varying degree of success, and always incurring a very heavy cost. It is time to seriously consider the requirement of creating a dedicated organisation specially tailored, staffed, trained and equipped to combat terrorism. The existing organizations/agencies are not ideally suitable for such tasks. An organization is needed to deal with the situation exclusively comprising of uniformed personnel, civilian officials and intelligence set up, with composite mixed units/sub units working at the field level providing an umbrella cover for safe and improved functioning of other agencies/departments.

30. Till the time such organization is created, closer and more effective coordination must be ensured at Tehsil/Thana level upwards amongst civil departments as well as between civil and security forces. The setting up of Policy Planning Group and District Coordination Committees has been mentioned earlier. This experiment has proved to be very successful and the concept needs to be formalized, refined and made more effective. It would help if the corresponding organisation at the State level,



which already exists, holds regular discussions and interaction with the group at the divisional level. Also the role of Policy Planning Group should be enlarged to include, in addition to looking after security aspects only as at present, spheres of activities like essential services/supplies, communication facilities and major projects etc. Adequate financial and administrative delegations need also to be considered for various groups in respects of spheres of activities for which they are made responsible. The aim is to ensure that in certain areas of crucial importance the decision making and implementation is decentralized and made quicker as well as responsive to the local needs. We must understand that operations against terrorism cannot be waged successfully from the placid and cloistered environs of the Secretariat. Just as the terrorist movement cannot succeed without popular support, the constitutional authority cannot defeat the movement without popular support.

31. Intelligence Coordination : There are a number of intelligence agencies working in the field reporting directly through their respective chains of command. The present system suffers from a number of draw-backs in reference to anti-terrorist operations. None of these agencies is geared to direct its efforts solely against this problem. They are working independently, in water tight compartments and often at cross-purposes. There is hardly any sharing of information or horizontal flow at the field level. By the time specific intelligence reaches the top and gets disseminated to agencies working in the field, it is often too late. Even the quality of output leaves much to be desired.

32. Gathering of accurate intelligence is more than half the battle in such a situation. Without accurate and timely intelligence the security forces or any other organization would be unable to combat terrorism. It has been experienced that informal systems introduced at various levels have not proved effective and make only marginal difference. Therefore, a conscious decision will be required to be taken at the highest levels of all such agencies to ensure that information of immediate use is promptly made available to the field units. For this operation, composite intelligence gathering and dissemination centres can be established on the lines of Joint Interrogation Centres.

33. Media Management : Propaganda and Psy-war are two very strong and effective tools available with the State to counter terrorism. Only a passing reference to these can be made here since each topic requires separate and detailed study. Suffice to say their importance and efficacy does not appear to have been realized fully. However, it is at the tactical level that the management of the media is probably at its worst, resulting into not only wasting of a powerful resource but also, at times, realized that the embarrassing situations. It needs to be very powerful tools available and the print media are two and influence target population. Their role becomes all the more important during critical times, as is being experienced presently. As a matter of fact now that the



security forces are unmistakably gaining an upper hand in their operations against the militants and there are signs of local population also going against them, the media should be made use of as a potent weapon against the militants by the State. Efforts towards this end would prove more useful if the briefing of the media or issuing of press notes regarding security matters is made by a single agency or at least in a coordinated manner at the State level. Presently two major shortcomings have been noticed in this regard which are explained hereinafter:

- a) There is a sort of running competition between various security agencies regarding their effectiveness in dealing with the militants, which unfortunately goes beyond the realm of being healthy. The game of one up up-manship is being played too often. Even minor incidents and apprehensions of routine nature are being rejected in the media as major successes causing legitimate heart burning amongst other agencies, apart from creating a multiplier effects of its own. In some cases local population or a particular group also feels aggrieved at being shown in an unsavory light. This tendency is also likely to result in certain disclosures being made prematurely as well as adversely affect the process of sharing of information with sister agencies.
- b) Another and more difficult, problem is the irresponsible reporting by the local print media which indulges in sensationalism, exaggerated and at times false reporting. The issue raised in the previous para is also partly responsible for the liberty being taken by the newspapers as most of their reporting is attributed to "official sources" which is difficult to check back. If the sources of official briefing is one then the incidence of incorrect news items would come down significantly.

34. An effective remedy to these ills could be the establishment of Joint Information Centres on the lines of Joint Interrogation Centres, where all relevant information from various agencies could be got collected, collated, interpreted and disseminated to the media. This centre could be manned by a combined staff including experts on media as well as mass communication. Regular briefings to the Press at fixed times, preferably daily, would also go a long way in serving our purpose in using media as a positive factor in the present drive against the militancy. The success and the popularity of the All India Radio's Urdu Service, especially from mid 1960s to mid 1970s amongst Pakistani audience comes naturally to mind as an example worth emulating.

35. Importance of the Local Police : The experience of Rajouri-Poonch administration has been that the local Police(Thana) is one of the most important functionaries in anti-terrorist operations. Normally in such a scenario the predominance of the deployment and resources of security forces is such that invariably the local Police get relegated to being treated as a poor and distant cousin. The relative neglect of the Thanas by State Governments also accentuate this feeling. It is our firm belief that a properly trained, equipped and motivated complement of local police combines the role of intelligence and security forces very effectively. There is hence a need to realize their importance and give a



fresh look to making the Thana more functional. Their training, equipment, transport and weaponry needs immediate upgradation. Morale and motivation are also to be paid due attention. Above all only the very best officers should be assigned to the District Police, and the advantage of doing so has been amply proved in this area.

36. Use of Air Resources : It has been observed that security forces generally feel shy of using air effort to the desired extent. This is one department where the forces engaged against terrorists have absolute superiority over its adversary. Liberal as well as imaginative use of this third-dimensional force would not only pay handsome dividends to the user but also harass the militants and shatter their morale. It is neither envisaged nor intended to use the air effort in a classical fashion of ground support by using combat aircrafts. However, advanced types of helicopters capable of night-vision and night surveillance should be extensively used for recce, photography, keeping eye on a moving target as well as a small arms firing platform. On occasions a heli-borne sniper team can be pressed into service with remarkable effect. Suitable number of ground control teams should be made available to units/sub-units on requirement basis and demand from forces engaged in anti-terrorist operations need to be given priority by the Air Force/Army next only to its operational commitments.

37. Selection of Officers : The requirement of posting only hand picked officers in critical areas cannot be overemphasized. This need becomes more pointed as the level of responsibility rises, and becomes crucial in respect of those ranks of civil, Police, para-military and army, where interaction and coordination becomes essential. There is just no alternative to the coordination groups functioning smoothly as a well oiled machine. Even one recalcitrant member of the team can make it ineffective. It is the duty of the higher officers in respective hierarchy and the supervisory group to ensure immediate replacement of the friction point. Also all recommendations pertaining to shifting of personnel under the charge of top level functionaries in such areas should be accepted by competent authorities without any further enquiry.

38. Additional Emphasis on Developmental Activities : Nobody would disagree that in disturbed areas the tempo of developmental activities can have an impact on the pacification of the target population. The pace of development would need to be accelerated, more funds made available and money utilized in a productive manner. Emphasis should be laid on those works/projects which have been ongoing for a long periods. These should be completed expeditiously and priority accorded to such activities which benefit largest number of people.

39. The number of unemployed educated youth is increasing every year and availability of Government jobs would either remain stationary or decrease. In any case the gap between the two is increasing progressively. Keeping this segment of population out of the reach of the militants ought to be one of our major thrust areas which will provide immediate results /gains. With this end in view,



a reappraisal of the priorities in the planning process is necessary. A marked and decisive shift from infra-structural development and social services to income generating activities will become inevitable so that more persons can be gainfully employed and income per unit/family increases.

40. The population in terrorist infested areas generally suffer from actual or perceived sense of neglect by the Government. The development strategy should carefully analyse all relevant factors in this behalf and take corrective actions.

### CONCLUSION

41. Separatist movements and terrorism having been generated in any society for whatever reasons, thrive on public support either given voluntarily or obtained through fear-psychosis and coercion. The aim of the Administration and security forces should be to identify and weed out the hard-core minority and inculcate adequate sense of security and confidence in the general public.

42. In the final analysis, combating terrorism by the armed forces is meant to blunt and destroy the capacity of the terrorists to wage an armed struggle against the State. Military might can only bring about a decisive crushing of the armed capability of the terrorists, but this should be followed, and in fact better accompanied, by neutralization of the active members of the terrorist groups as well as the pacification of the affected population. All organs of the State are required to function at their optimum level of efficiency individually and also as a part of the larger apparatus. There cannot be compartmentalization in a successful fight against terrorism. The awesome coercive power of the State and its benevolent countenance should ideally be blended into an effective composite, strong and resilient, to combat and root out terrorism. Lastly, at all stages the Government must display an unmistakable firmness. Weak Governments end up killing more people than the strong ones.







# WHITHER TERRORISM

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## Background

1. History is replete with examples wherein various nations or the individuals have tried to subjugate one another. This has been largely done to establish one's ascendancy over the adversary. One of the most effective weapons used for such purposes has been terror. If we go back to history, we will find that the likes of "Sicarii" or "The knife men" of Judea in 66-73 AD, "Vikings" of North sea and nearer home, "Pindaris" were all terrorists of varying categories. However, it was during the French revolution when terrorism was transformed into insurgency with socio-political objective coupled with ideological stance, and thus given respectability.
2. In the period after second world war, certain states, who wanted to propagate their ideology on the smaller nations, who were being threatened by major powers and were unable to meet the high cost of conventional wars, realised the importance of low intensity conflicts and readily took recourse to Guerrilla Warfare, coupled with active or passive terrorism to counter the threat posed to them. To be successful, the terrorism must involve political objective and use force to destroy established authority's will to resist and force them to agree to a dialogue at their terms.

## Aim

3. The aim of this paper is to study terrorism with special reference to ways and means of combating it under Indian conditions.

## Contemporary Terrorism

4. Today terrorism is being willingly or unwillingly sponsored by foreign powers. Examples of this are Vietnam



where it was sponsored by communists, China, Cuba and Burma by opposition parties/groups, in Nicaragua by USA and in Kashmir by Pakistan. In all these cases, when indigenous move failed to overthrow the established authority and lost respect for law, they thrive on power of the gun.

5. Almost all countries of the world today have been effected by terrorism in some form or the other. No society is really safe from its effects.

### Definitions

6. Terror. This has been defined differently by various people. Some of the definitions are as under :-

(a) "Terror is an over-whelming impulse or hysteric or dread. It is a state of intense fear caused by the systematic use of violence by a party or a faction".

✓(b) "Terrorism is the method or theory behind the method whereby an organisation, group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims through systematic use of violence".

(c) Terror is an intense paralysing fear, or the dread of it. Terrorism is a deliberate attempt to create terror through a symbolic act involving the use or threat of abnormal lethal force for the purpose of influencing a target group or individual.

7. Terrorist. This has been defined by Government of India in Anti Terrorist Act 1985 as "A Terrorist means a person who indulges in wanton killing of persons or in violence or in the disruption of services or means of communication essential to the community or in damaging property with a view to putting the public or any section of the public in fear; affecting adversely the harmony between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes of communities, coercing or over-awing the government established by law or endangering the sovereignty and integrity of India".



8. Encyclopaedia defines terrorist as "A supporter of a dissident faction who resorts to violence in order to intimidate and coerce people for political ends".

9. Political terrorism has been defined as "It is the use of threat of violence by an individual or a group whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear indulging effects on a target group larger than the immediate victims with the political demands of the perpetrators".

10. The French whose constitution is very revolutionary and presents serious problems in separating terrorist from political life has summarised the definition with the following elements :-

(a) Motivation is the first element.

(b) Terrorism is a mediated phenomenon, in a double sense. The victim of a terrorist act is the messenger as much as the target. The victim carries the message to the real addresses who are most numerous and wide spread witnesses possible. In the second sense the terrorist act brings into play an active pedagogy the important thing is not the act itself but the hold on conscience or the evolution that it involves from the spectator or the participant of the necessity and the possibility of important changes in the organisation of the society.

(c) It is a communication phenomenon.

(d) They attempt to win hearts and mind.

11. The French finally sum up the definition of terrorism as "As an act of violence which tries in a legitimate state to impose a broadly minority will upon the authorities or on the guardians of sovereignty, that is to say the electors, for that purpose it makes use of the effects of surprise and mobilises reaction of fear among public that is not prepared for this shock treatment.



12. The official publications of United States, state department defines terrorism as "The threat or use of violence for political purposes by individual or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims".

13. Whereas the comprehensive crime control act passed by the United States Congress in 1984 defines this as activities that :-

"(a) Involves violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or any states".

(b) Appear to be intended :-

(i) To intimidate or coerce a civil population.

(ii) To influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion;

(iii) To effect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping".

14. From the above, it will clearly emerge that main ingredient of terrorism are, violence, coercion, intimidation and political motivation. society being the main target.

15. Insurgency. This is defined as "a rising up in revolt, rebellion or insurrection". It is a mass move against the government by peaceful or violent means. It is primarily directed against the erosion of government authority, and such finally leads to violent clashes and thus converts as mass move into an armed struggle.

#### Difference between Terrorism and Insurgency

16. Both these are forms of unconventional warfare. Major difference between the two being :-



### Terrorism

(a) All acts of a group to use violence, coercion, Intimidation or terror.

(b) Lacks active mass support and obtains it through terror.

(c) Terror and violence unleashed by individuals.

(d) Society and people are targets.

(e) Cannot challenge the government and achieves his aim through utter ruthlessness and heinous crimes against society.

(f) All actions are aimed at psychological effects.

### Insurgency

(a) It is a manifestation of widespread discontent and ineffective administration.

(b) Thrives on popular and mass upsurge.

(c) All actions are well planned and coordinated to achieve political aim.

(d) Only government machinery is singled out as target.

(e) Challenges state through armed struggle for a prolonged period.

(f) Aims to achieve political results from physical violence.

### Aims of Terrorists

17. The main aim of terrorists is to erode psychological support to the government machinery by spreading fear among the government officials and their supporters. These are :-

(a) Nationalist Terrorism. These groups seek political self determination. Their struggle may be waged in the state, they want to liberate or they may seek to liberate the concerned territory from outside, the later may be at times forced by action of security forces to wage the struggle entirely from exile.

(b) Ideological Terrorism. The aim of these groups is to change the complete political, social and economic system. Such groups are prone to internal



split. Initially, these groups were totally indigenous in character, however, after 1984, certain loose alliance based on ideology have surfaced.

(c) Religious Fanatics. The aim of these groups is to overthrow a prevailing religious order which they regard as corrupt and evil. An example of this are the Islamic Jihad group of fundamentalist Shi'ites, who were inspired by Iranian revolution and are now challenging many of the moderate Arab regimes.

(d) Single Issue Fanatics. These groups aim at changing a specific practice or policy within a society. Examples are anti-nuclear and anti-abortion extremists. There is certain amount of cooperation among these groups in Europe.

(e) State Sponsored International Terrorism. Such groups are used as a tool of state policy. Examples of these are Gaddafi's hit squad sent abroad to eliminate dissidents. The sponsoring state may either use their own recruited or controlled squads or may work through proxies. They always work covertly so that the state could deny their involvement.

#### Forms of Terrorism

18. Individual Terrorism. These are acts of violence carried out by an individual for purely personal gains. Acts committed are rapes, robberies, murder, kidnapping. Main aim is to unleash violence to generate fear for personal gain.

19. Group Terrorism. This is carried out by a group against a society or another group with the aim of gaining advantage politically, socially, economically or religiously.

20. Revolutionary Terrorism. This form of terrorism is for achieving a political and social change. It is not only directed against defeating the enemy by military means but has the mass move of people as a crucial part of it.



21. State Terrorism. It is used by a dominant power to gain and maintain political control. It is most often employed by monarchial regimes or totalitarian regimes against their own people.

22. International Terrorism. These are the terrorist acts committed across the border of own state to try and draw world attention to own cause or to prove to the adversary, your ability to strike at targets well away from own area. Examples of this can be found in acts by PLO, IRA and Israeli raids in neighbouring countries.

### Suitable Conditions Favouring Terrorism

23. Terrorism can only thrive when certain favourable conditions exist. Such conditions should either actually exist or be perceived to exist. Some of these factors are :-

(a) National Liberation. This was the main cause in erstwhile colonial countries. Examples are various countries of South Africa ie, Kenya, Uganda etc.

(b) Political Frustration. Maladministration with corrupt administrators presided over by inefficient and corrupt politicians produce contempt and hatred against the system and the government. Case in point are events in Poland and Jammu & Kashmir.

(c) Economic Disparities. Economic disparities even in developed countries lend themselves to discontent and develop a feeling of economic exploitation by the haves ~~and~~ have not<sup>ed</sup>. A case in point is growth of Naxalite movement supposedly to end corruption, unemployment and economic disparity.

(d) Foreign Support. Contiguity, easy access and suitable routes to an unfriendly country facilitate foreign support. Besides this some of the countries are now using terrorism as a low cost option. They wage a war by proxy in the target country. Backing of foreign country in the form of training, supply



enormously increase the intensity of clash. Case in point are Pakistan's assistance to anti-national elements in Punjab and Kashmir.

(e) Liberation of Fellow Terrorists. Certain terrorist groups all over the world have resorted to terrorism to secure release of fellow terrorists.

(f) Lure for Publicity. Acts of terrorism make hot news and are published by the press. This gives the concerned terrorist group much needed boast.

### Modus Operandi of Terrorists

24. Terrorist use various method of terrorising the population to prove that the government is incapable of defending the public and salvation of population lies in supporting the cause of the terrorist. Fear psychosis is built by creating horror and insecurity. Some of the method used for this are :-

(a) Hijacking of Aircraft. This gives them international publicity.

(b) Bombing. This is another common tactics used by the terrorist. However, in the long run this can become counter-productive as this hurts the common man.

(c) Kidnapping. Very popular method. This includes taking hostages for political gains and ransoms.

(d) Assassinations and Killings. Assassination of leading public figure and government officials is to intimidate the government and dramatise their demands. There are number of examples of such killing by anti-national groups, both in Kashmir and Punjab.

(e) Extortion. This implies armed robbery of money and arms. Looting of banks and armouries, thus creating a sense of insecurity.

25. Besides terror, the other methods used are :-



- (a) Shooting Attacks and Ambushes against Security Forces. The aim being to either capture or kill security force personnel with the twin aim of inflicting casualties, capturing arms and ammunition, as also establishing morale superiority over them.
- (b) Publicity. He will select his target with an aim of driving maximum publicity from his actions. This gives him a further boost and acts as a damper for law enforcing agencies.

### Principles of Combating Terrorism

26. Overall Effort. Defeating terrorism is not a mere military action. In fact no State has ever been able to win terrorism by military action alone. If we dare to quantify the military effort in counter terrorists operations, it may not exceed 20 per cent of the overall government effort. Defeating terrorism would involve following foundationary measures :-

- (a) Formulation of political aim.
- (b) Unified government machinery, including intelligence operations.
- (c) Development of multi-dimensional plans.
- (d) Reorientation of security forces.
- (e) Measures to inhibit the growth of *22-3-11*.

27. Political Aim. Selection of political aim to counter terrorism is crucial. If the political aim is inappropriate, there will be no clear-cut direction to various agencies involve in countering terrorism. I wish to highlight the following :-

- (a) Each terrorist group has its own ingra characteristics and these must be analysed & understood.
- (b) All government agency must work in a co-ordinated manner to achieve political aim and not in water tight compartments.
- (c) Overall political aim must be laid by the



of Security Forces.

28. Unified Government Machinery. Once the political aim is clearly stated, it is essential to create a unified machinery to achieve that aim as discussed earlier. Example Cuba, Malaya and Cyprus - Positive and Nagaland - Negative. In Kashmir Valley an excellent working machinery was established wherein the advisor security, the heads of, Army, police and para-military forces functioned as a well knit team.

29. Intelligence Coordinating Committees. A number of intelligence agencies operate in terrorist infested areas. Normally, their efforts are not coordinated and they work at cross purposes. There is, therefore, need to organise intelligence committees at the earlier. We were fortunate to have been able to organise this in Kashmir Valley and this enabled us to make best use of available information.

30. Joint Headquarters. For functioning of above committees, joint headquarters and control rooms will be established at various levels. The control rooms will be equipped with all types of communication channels (Radio, Telephone) from military, police and civilian authority.

31. Development of Multi-dimensional Plans. The plans should be developed in a manner that they project the overall national prospective and aim at solving basic causes of terrorism. The options available are :-

- (a) Socio-economic development.
- (b) Political settlement when the terrorism is still in incipient stage.
- (c) Both political and military actions, in case of active terrorism.
- (d) Predominance to military operations in case of high intensity terrorism.
- (e) Political action when terrorism is controlled.



32. There is a need to develop a national level strategy to combat terrorism. This strategy should be on two plans, ie immediate measures and long term measures and should include the following :-

(a) Immediate Measures.

(i) Need to create a counter terrorist force at the national level on the lines of Israeli commando force or USAs rangers and Green Baretts.

(ii) Para-military forces to be used as back up for both defensive and offensive operations.

(iii) Regular army to be used only as last resort, that too only for limited operations.

(b) Long Term Measures.

(i) Creation of crisis management organisation at state and district levels in coordination with the national organisations.

(ii) Creation of counter terrorist cells and teams.

(iii) Establishment of an institute for joint training of civilians, army and police officials.

(iv) Creation of an intelligence set up on a permanent basis, to trace the terrorist movement from its inception.

Combating Terrorism

33. Impediments. Terrorism is basically a result of political and social malaise, hence any state response to terrorism has to be a mixture of political, social, economic and military actions. In a democratic set up, however, there are certain reasons which hamper the fight against terrorism.

(a) Political Interests. In a democracy, the main guiding principle of party action are its effects



on poll prospects. Due to this governments suffer from inertia and do not take appropriate action against terrorists. At times, divergence of interest between centre and state provide conducive environment for terrorists to flourish.

(b) Politicisation of State Police. Local/State police being poorly framed having communal loyalties and suffering from political interference do not prove effective to counter terrorism.

(c) Differences in Perception. Differences in perception vis-a-vis the situation, between centre and state weakens the overall strategy to counter terrorism.

(d) Lack of Intelligence. This is mainly due to the secretive organisation of the terrorists, fear of reprisals against informers and lack of cooperation among various agencies of states and even countries.

34. Responsibility of Countering Terrorism. Since terrorism is not a normal law and order problem, it cannot be left to the state alone. It is a national problem that can be solved only by a concerted effort from various agencies. Agencies involved in combating terrorism are :-

- (a) Central Government.
- (b) State Government.
- (c) Special Government.
- (d) Para-military forces.
- (e) Army.

#### Central Government

35. The Central Government is responsible for laying down a national policy against terrorism. This policy should encompass the following :-

- (a) Never submitting to blackmail.
- (b) Declare areas disturbed when required.



- (c) Ensure security forces remain apolitical.
- (d) Implement social, economic and political reforms.
- (e) Treat combating terrorism above party interests.
- (f) Adopt unified policy.
- (g) Policy on psychological operations and counter propaganda.
- (h) Revamp armed police and para-military forces and make them more responsive.
- (j) Creation of specialist counter terrorist forces.

36. State Government. Terrorist violence takes root in an atmosphere of corruption, inefficient administration and political stability. Counter measures for eradication rest on political, socio-economic developments and education programme. Ingredients of State policy should be as follows :-

- (a) Create clean and efficient administration.
- (b) Well equipped, possessing high moral, impartial and effective police force.
- (c) Education and motivation of youth.
- (d) Maximum job opportunities.
- (e) Educate protection to population.
- (f) Revamp and use state intelligence services effectively.
- (g) Establish liaison with all agencies dealing with law and orders and administration and leaders of various social and political groups.

### Conclusion

37. Terrorism is likely to gain momentum in coming years specially in a country like ours, which has diversities in the form of language, culture, religion, ethnic stock and growing regionalism. All these lend themselves to create suitable conditions for forming terrorism.

38. The greatest safeguard against terrorism is an



enlightened public opinion against it. The individual resistance to terrorist acts must be developed. At the same time, at the government level we must formalise our philosophy for counter-terrorism as also sincerely work to remove the causes responsible for fomenting terrorism. There is a definite need to restructure the training of our security forces to counter this menace. An early incorporation of long term measures as suggested above will greatly assist in combating terrorism.



## TERRORISM AND MEDIA

Terrorism earlier was a spasmodic activity but now it has almost become a way of life, an everyday affair. A large number of countries all round the world are affected. Different states in India are afflicted with it. Two three decades ago, it was only Nagaland and Mizoram but now Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Tamil Nadu have witnessed large scale violence and terrorism. According to the Union Home Ministry, in 1990 out of total number of 7197 deaths in India due to violence as many as 5743 were killed in terrorist related violence (Assam-650, J&K-614 and Punjab-4479).

Since 1968 the world has been witnessing organized terrorism on large scale in different countries in pursuit of diverse causes, mostly political. This is clear that all terrorism is not violent. When threats, intimidation, abductions and the like fail to achieve results-or if public attention is required or if quick results are desired, the terrorists resort to death and destruction. It is obvious that terrorism is of various kinds-political, criminal, religious or narcotics but end objective is always money or power. Many even believe that terrorism is a form of politics, however, politicians refuse to accept it. Terrorism, violence and insurgency especially with foreign motivation and support, has only one end in view that of political power. Terrorism is considered to be systematic use of intimidation and violence to achieve same goal. When this is aimed at overthrow of an established order and administration, it becomes insurgency or rebellion. Only a thin line divides the two. A rebellion may be put down but insurgency does not completely die down. It has long range effects which show up years later, sometimes.

Political terrorism is always justified on the ground of self defence overthrowing of an oppressor, establishing rights and freedoms or self-determination. On the basis of "Jus ad bellum" or "Jus in bello" - justice of war and justice in war - all means to achieve their ends are considered fair and legitimate by them. Terrorist groups employ at various stages and depending on circumstances, weapons of bomb blasts, arson, intimidation, extortion, looting, bank robberies, kidnappings, ransom money and killings. An American authority has put it very well "Political terrorism is the use or threat of use of violence by an individual or a group whether acting for or in opposition to an established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear inducing effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators. This brings out in sharp focus that publicity is vital both for the cause of the terrorists and the deed since both are promoted through publicity. It is not difficult to deduce that terrorists relies on the media to further his goals while media uses terrorist acts as juicy items which are newsworthy and the reader hungry for. An



American authority asserts that in many ways, the modern terrorist is ~~the~~ very creation of mass media and has been magnified and enlarged beyond his own powers by others.

In the initial stages of terrorism, publicity is required to build up the movement and to convey vital information and messages like call for bands, strike calls, bans etc., even orders to kill. At times, to give publicity to terrorist activities, the media may have purely professional reasons or may have other motives born out of the religious or linguistic affinity, sympathy with the cause espoused by the terrorist group or to spite the administration by showing the power of the press or to settle scores with the rulers. If terrorists do not get the expected publicity it serves as a disincentive to them. Therefore, it is imperative that media is persuaded, cajoled or intimidated to fall in line and even to submit. Publicity given all over the world to selected acts of terrorists, strike further terror and secures more adherents. Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi in Delhi, Sant Singh Longowal and Lala Jagat Narain, founder-editor of "Hind Samachar" of Jalandhar in the Punjab, leading Calcutta industrialist Surrinder Paul in Assam, respected religious and political leader Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Farooq, religious scholar and politician Maulana Masoodi, a young and dynamic legislator Mir Mustuffa, well known Arabic scholar and Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University Prof. Mashirul Haq, General Manager of HMT factory Mr. H.L. Khara and Director of Srinagar Door Darshan Kendra in Kashmir sent shock waves and struck terror among large sections of public. Some of the other major incidents were : destruction of Air India Jumbojet over Atlantic killing all the 300 passengers; Libyan terrorist attack on the Italian luxury ship; hijacking of many aeroplanes including those of the Indian Airlines to Pakistan and Dubai, and PanAm to Karachi; Israeli action against Arab neighbours and Arab retaliation against Americans in far off Berlin and its further retaliation by the US with air attacks on Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. All these acts received massive publicity in international media. For days on end, these news hogged the headlines. Sympathetic sections of media or supporting countries glorify such acts and call their perpetrators heroes and martyrs, unmindful of death and misery caused by them. It can be argued that the erring media is just as much guilty as the terrorist concerned and it is unjust to have two different yardsticks for them.

Terrorists also use the media to enhance their own credibility while undermining <sup>the</sup> the administration. Any terrorist organization needs recognition and if it does not achieve recognition as a feared opponent of the establishment, it has lost its clout, importance and even its meaning. This recognition by the public is vital for terrorist groups aim at creating disorder, to discredit all persons with authority and established institutions and to create maximum destruct among various sections of society. Media can also illafford to ignore or deliberately not take notice of unpleasant symptoms of terrorism because then it is likely to develop dangerous consequences. Terrorist group first use, then misuse and ultimately abuse the Media. Cleverly it is used to spread misinformation, then disinformation and finally for blatant propogands. Slowly but systematically media is terrorised and made



to subserve the cause of terrorist groups. From the proud, independent and free press it is pathetic to witness its transformation into a puppet press. This transformation is directly linked to and also proportionate to the erosion of the established authority. The media, invariably in the name of freedom of press, gives terrorist acts and their statements and views publicity, sometimes the buildup is out of proportion, giving the terrorist a reputation larger than life. Sometimes he is presented as a legend and other times as a Robin Hood. A halo is created around him so that his criminality is glossed over. Most of the non-official media prints and visually presents inflammable speeches and press releases which adversely affect peace and order, inciting riots or violence and undermining the prestige and fear of the Administration. Regional and language newspapers fall easy prey to pressures and fill papers with all sorts of provocative statements, vindictive and venomous material provided and supplied by underground outfits or their front organizations. Publication of such material and dissemination of their views may be induced by monetary considerations, to build up their circulation and to gain popularity and readership in certain constituency. If persuasion does not work then threats and intimidation are used to create scare and fear psychosis. As if print media was not enough, video magazines also pitched in to contribute their bit. Television, wherever, it is not a government monopoly, has been the major culprit because of the visual impact and its reach. To scare the electronic media in India, terrorists even kill the functionaries to convey their message. The killing of the Director of Srinagar Door Darshan Kendra and the Station Director of AIR Station at Chandigarh, fall in this category. Regional press in different parts of India by pandering to and submitting to dictates of terrorist groups, has helped to teach impressionable minds to hate, malign and dispise. To achieve this, at times they indulge in disproportionate criticism of armed and par-military forces engaged in countering terrorist activities, primarily with the object of maligning and mocking. At the same time hardly any notice is taken of acts of terrorism resulting in death, arson and economic hardship. Tea industry of Assam and Tourist Trade of Kashmir are nearly ruined and with these is linked the well-being and future of millions of persons.

Media has been covering terrorist activities for many decades in Northern Ireland, for over twenty years in Lebanon and Israel-occupied Arab areas. From Nagaland and Mizoram for two to three decades, from Sri Lanka for nearly ten years, and from Tripura and Punjab for 8 to 10 years, and Kashmir and Sindh(Pakistan) for past 2/3 years. In each area problems are different but difficulties faced by media are, by and large, similar.

In Andhra Pradesh, where earlier Telengana extremists were active and now the nexalites under the umbrella of People's War Group, are terrorizing people. Sections of the regional press have made heroes out of some terrorists because those newspapers wanted to settle scores with a particular political party or the State Government. For sometime past in Tamil Nadu the language press has been mesmerised by the LTTE terrorists, who seem to have full sway on the Thanjavur coast. Lauditory references to them are made and legends are woven round certain individuals. In Assam, Naxalite and Maoist groups have enthralled the



local press and now after the crackdown by the army and imposition of the Presidential rule, the local press is publishing stories alleging atrocities by the Armymen and blaming the Centre for everything that goes wrong in Assam. The same is true of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in Nagaland and of the People's Liberation Army in Manipur.

The case of Kashmir is unique because in the Valley the entire media was incapacitated after being thoroughly intimidated. The newspapers published mostly the material supplied by various militant outfits and news and views palatable to them except the bald and bland official handouts. They have also disallowed circulation of many newspapers from outside the Valley. In October, 1990, the local newspapers of Srinagar decided to suspend publication because of increased threats of terrorists. The chickens seemed to have come home to roost. The electronic media was fully scared especially after killing of the Director Doordarshan Kendra. Both the Doordarshan and the Radio Kashmir are functioning with skeleton staff, with very few production facilities operational. Infact, they operate under siege. This impairment has created a vacuum which has been filled gleefully by Pakistan Radio and Television. The absence in Jammu of any TV Studio and powerful Radio Transmitters has helped them further. Credibility of BBC has always been very highly rated in Kashmir for past four decades or so. Srinagar had large representation of national and international media. Most of them came away when they found it impossible to operate from there or were threatened by terrorists. Kashmir happenings for almost a year have been reported either by some newly appointed immature correspondents in Srinagar, or from Jammu and New Delhi, based largely on secondhand information or reports published in Srinagar Press. The flow of official information has been inadequate and sketchy, as alleged by the working journalists.

Punjab is a category by itself because this problem has been faced by them for over a decade and there are newspapers abroad which are used by terrorists to publicise their views and promote their cause. Many a stalwart has succumbed to the threats with an outstanding example of Hind Samachar Group of newspapers of Jalandhar. Its founder Lala Jagat Narain and later his son and Editor, Romesh Chander were killed by the terrorists because they refused to fall in line. Nearly a score of their agents and hawkers have also been killed all over the Punjab. The newspapers of this Group continue to be printed and published from a self-contained complex in Jalandhar and also from Delhi, which look like fortresses. Till recently here also it was general pattern of intimidation threats and killings but in November, 1990, the underground Panthic Committee prescribed a code of conduct for the media operating in and out of Punjab. The six-page document lays down in detail specifically dos and don'ts for the media, which were to be enforced strictly from 1st December 1990. Stern warning was given that those reporting from "the land of Khalistan" violating the code or even deviating from it would be punished with death. The code says that all those struggling for Khalistan should not be described as terrorists or extremists but only as militants. "Pakistan based" or "so-called" appellation should be avoided. Prefix of "Sant" should be used before the name of Bhindranwale. Statements or press releases given by various outfits should be published in full. One Chandigarh-based newspaper was made to



publish in full a 21 page letter. The Code asked the newspapers and news agencies to give Khalistani activities more coverage and space. It also threatened journalists from outside the Punjab to be sent "out to Delhi like the ones sent out from Srinagar". The Panthic Committee has asked journalists to forward complaints to them. "They could also appeal against the death penalty to the Committee, which shall have the final say". All this in the name of free press because the Panthic statement says that "Journalists shall have full freedom to report the weaknesses of the militants and their organizations". The Panthic Committee also asked the Radio Stations at Jalandhar and Chandigarh to use only Punjabi and cease broadcasts in Hindi. Surprisingly the official media has fallen in line with them without as much as verbal protest. Only the six Leftist publications in Punjabi have decided and announced their opposition to the Code of Conduct, while the national and the regional media has virtually succumbed. However, blatantly the Administration has stirred. It is reported that last week Police raided a Punjabi language daily newspaper in Jalandhar and seized its copies having printed some objectionable items. Similar raids were conducted in Chandigarh on two english language newspapers against whom cases have been registered under various sections of IPC and Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA) against the Times of India and Ajeet, for publishing a news item based on a press note issued by the militants. Also last week in Chandigarh, the Union MOS for Home declared that the Govt., will not allow under any circumstances printing of objectionable propaganda material circulated by militant organizations. He said "even if one calls it an excess (on the newspaper industry), we will go ahead with it." He further said that "we would like the sanctity of journalism to be maintained".

It is said that revolution usually eats up its own children. This is also true of terrorism. The erring newspapers sooner or later, suffer for their association with terrorists for their demands keep on mounting and no newspaper can comply with them beyond a certain point. At some stage or other, media will have to decide whether it will side with and support the establishment for restoration of peace and order or go along with those who are avowedly out to undermine the authority and wage war against the State. According to Mr. K. Subramaniam, former Director of the Indian Instt. of Defence Studies, an analysis "to counter political terrorism you need 20% use of force and 80% psychological war in which use of media is the major input". Since psychological warfare has to be waged to win over the hearts and minds of the population of the area where the terrorists operate they ensure that media is either hijacked or derailed. An intimidated or scared press can never be free and therefore, the Indian Press cannot compromise in this, committed as it is to freedom of press. The other proposition to be studied is whether any restraints-voluntary or official in reporting of terrorist activities, is desirable or not.



Does full free and fair reporting by media-both print and electronic, whether non official and independent or officially controlled and managed, help contain or counter terrorism? This is debatable in view of experience of America and Russia, two diametrically opposed information systems till recently. Why is it not possible to use the media as a tool to bring home to terrorists and their sympathisers that state has vast resources as compared to them and hence it cannot be ever overwhelmed; that terrorism can only result in innocent killings, large scale destructions of property and economic ruination of the affected area. Let it be remembered that no political terrorist group has ever succeeded anywhere to overthrow an organized democratic state.

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YOUTH AND TERRORISM

Broadly speaking, terrorism implies the use of force to achieve certain objectives. In the present day context, when the word "terrorism" is spoken, a picture instantly forms in the mind of the layman. This picture is of gun-toting, ruthless and brutal youngster who is intent on destabilising the existing socio-political structure and has violence as the sole objective of his terrestrial existence. Obviously, he is very different indeed from a normal, balanced young person. But surely, at some point of time, he very probably was an average youngster, with a variety of interests not intending to causing destruction. Why does this transformation occur?

At the macro-level, terrorism may be essentially a political problem but at the micro-level, it is partly socio-economic and to a larger extent, personal. Is it justifiable to describe terrorism as a personal problem? To answer this, we have to look at the scenario from the view-point of, If I may use the term, a "freshly recruited terrorist". Why does he choose to give up the comforts of his home, meagre as they may be, for a life where one rarely sleeps twice in succession at the same place? Why does he accept a life where he shall catch but a glimpse of his parents, brothers and sisters in months or even years? Why does he choose to exchange his settled identity for anonymity or notoriety, as the case may be? From where does this destructive urge dominate him? I have attempted to briefly discuss these issues.

The initiating factor is most likely to be a certain degree of idealism. I say "a certain degree" for any young man who is truly idealistic would not resort to brutality and coercion to achieve his aims. Just as those who have a narrow view of religion make the strongest fanatics, so do such 'limited idealists prove to be the best candidates for terrorism. Their half baked ideologies are conveniently flexible and usually are moulded to the dictum that the end justifies the means.

Very often, these are supplemented by a very persistent and deeply embedded desire to be visible, to be noticed, to be talked about by one's friends, acquaintances and relatives. Many of those who join the terrorists ranks are those who have a craving for widespread recognition, no matter which field they gain it in. Thus, individuals suffering from an inferiority complex are more likely to take to violence to assert themselves and convince themselves of their ability to do extraordinary things.

The final factor which propels a youth towards terrorism is often the economic one. Obviously, this holds greater relevance for the unemployed. It is seldom that ideology or ambition succeed in persuading a profitably employed person to give up his occupation. If an idle mind is the devil's workshop, an idle, unemployed and aimless young man



is the tool of the devil himself. Lack of gainful activity is an essential prerequisite for terrorism to implant itself as an ideology into young and fresh minds.

Thus, a distorted form of idealism, an eagerness to achieve recognition and the lack of purposeful occupation are among the primary causes for an individual youth to take up the cult of violence. However, it must be borne in mind that "peer pressure" is a very strong factor in determining a student's or a young person's line of action. When a substantial number of his compatriots choose the path of bloodshed, it becomes very difficult indeed for any sober one amongst them to keep out, for the fear of being labelled a "traitor to the cause", or even worse, a poltroon, unequal to his friends in courage. Thus, it usually happens that youngsters join the terrorist cadres in large numbers together.

The causes why an individual might take up terrorism have been referred to. Once people have opted for this path, however, a different if parallel set of factors come into play, which very frequently ensure that they do not turn back to a peaceful life till the end of their often short lives.

Foremost among these is the sense of power and invincibility generated by the sophisticated weaponry currently available to organized terrorist groups. Power in any form is intoxicating, but when the power of life and death over others comes into the hands of an eighteen or nineteen year old, it is an overpowering emotion which totally dulls him to logic as well as compassion. A fatal overconfidence sets in, which is further bolstered by the fact that the opposing security forces have to, by force of circumstances, react defensively to the offensive action initiated by the militant cadres. In addition, the risk involved in planting time-bombs or setting off pre-laid mines by remote control is very low indeed. Thus, the availability of advanced instruments of death serves to improve significantly the cost-benefit ratio of the terrorist and further serves to make him believe that his power cannot be challenged even by the might of the State.

The easy availability of prodigious amounts of money by means of extortion, decoities and kidnapping for ransom etc is another factor which binds an extremist to his peculiar lifestyle. There is a Sanskrit verse which roughly translated, says that as the waters of the pond expand and freshen in the rains, so does the lotus bloom and glow; but when the pond goes dry, the lotus cannot contract or reduce its requirement of water, and so it must wither away. Similarly, a youngster who can have lakhs of rupees merely by brandishing his gun, is not likely to be very keen to slong for eight hours a day to earn a thousand or two thousand rupees.

Of course, even if common sense and rationality do ultimately prevail, a terrorist cannot simply put down his weapon and say good-bye



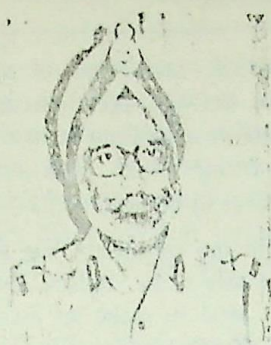
to his compatriots. Many of them often have good reason to think twice before walking unarmed into a Police Station, even though it may be with the intention to surrender. Organized terrorist groups too do not look very kindly upon deserters from their ranks, as the number of terrorists killed in the so-called "inter-gang rivalry" clearly indicates. The system is easy to enter but extremely difficult to move out of.

In conclusion, I wish to lay stress on the fact that although the minisule percentage of terrorists may be hardened criminal elements, the majority of them are victims of their own confused ideologies, clouded confusion and misplaced priorities. It is relatively far more feasible to prevent them from taking up to terrorism than to persuade them to leave it and join the national mainstream. Society in general and the Government and administration in particular shall always have to focus their attention less on the symptoms and more on the causes of terrorism. Subsequently they shall have to take whatever steps they deem fit to ensure that the seats of extremism and idealism do not find fertile ground to flourish in, for there is no other way to find a long term solution to this problem, be it in India or anywhere else. Prevention, as always, is better than cure.









# Law and Order Administration, Special Reference — Terrorism

P.S. Bawa

**L**aw and order administration has been fairly resilient since Independence. India is not only the most stable democracy amongst developing nations but has survived many upheavals which normally can result in the doom of fragile political systems. She has successfully conducted the General Elections and other rituals of the democratic process all over the country without any serious impediment. She has successfully prevented the subversion of the democratic process which is attempted to be undermined by unprincipled political horse-trading and floor-crossing thus reducing the local governments to some sort of instability. She has survived the various upheavals and

traumas of Emergency, assassination of a Prime Minister, Operation Blue-star, and a series of wars with Pakistan, including a debacle with China. She has boldly faced the natural calamities of droughts, floods, earthquakes, avalanches — all the scourges of nature, including the

P.S. Bawa joined the I.P.S. in 1964. Earlier since 1961, he was in the Rajasthan Administrative Service. As Superintendent of Police he was posted in Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura. He was also S.P. Vigilance, S.P. Anti-Corruption, S.P. Crime and Railways and D.C.P. Traffic in Delhi. On promotion as Additional Commissioner of Police he was Additional C.P. Coordination Cell, Asian Games. Till recently he was I.G.P. Goa, Daman and Diu. Was D.I.G., C.R.P.F. in Delhi and is now I.G.P. Arunachal Pradesh.

epidemics — with courage, self-reliance, and success.

She has seen the emergence of a professional management and the desire to accomplish tasks in all areas of growth, development, scientific advancement on the one hand and organisation of mammoth events like Asian Games, NAM, CHOGM and SAARC as well as frequent Kumbha Melas with success and finesse that is the envy of many nations. Similarly, the resolutions of conflicts in the north-east is hallmark of intelligent and pragmatic interventions. The solution of the Assam problem the accord in Mizoram, the quietening of the insurgency in Nagaland, the silencing of the Darjeeling Hills, the joining of the Tripura rebels in the



main stream are some of the glaring achievements and indications of the sagacity and stability of the administration and the system.

In the area of law and order, there is a plethora of progressive legislation on the rights of women, the hackneyed and regressive social practices like dowry, sati, divorce laws, etc. The judicial activism by making justice accessible to the common man, the public interest litigation, the liberal pronouncements in tune with the directive principles, fundamental rights and duties of the citizen are extremely progressive steps. The attempt to take justice to the grassroots through the institution of nyaya panchayats is a step in the right direction. Similarly, police is making efforts to be more responsive to the needs of the community. The National Police Commission have made proposals to reform and revitalise the system so that it can serve the needs of growth, development, equity and justice.

Although the balance sheet is favourable, yet it is essential to have a look on the debit side. There are some cracks in the edifice. Though the metropolises are functional yet they have started showing signs of strain. The criminal justice system, despite its attempts at progressive thrusts, is on the verge of collapse. The pendency of cases from the lowest to the highest court in the country is an albatross around the neck of the system. The albatross is getting bulkier every day. Denial of justice due to delay, expense, and ignorance is endemic. The cancer of corruption in general is corroding the vitals of the system. The conflicts in the rural areas are getting reflected in the terrorism of the groups based on caste and economic classes. The ethnic, communal, geographical, and

linguistic aspirations of some areas have not yet been assuaged. Their worst manifestation is in the form of terrorism which has become a scourge to be dealt with.

In the context of the above, it is necessary to be realistic and prudent. It is vital to make an assessment of the threats and challenges and find out whether adequate preparations have been made for the future to deal with the continuing and the evolving problems. This is thus not an exercise in pessimism but one in preparation; not one of dependency but determination to deal with the future; not one of negativity but an attempt to search novelty for increasing the coping capabilities and talents of administrators. It is all the more necessary in view of the phenomenon of terrorism that has unleashed panic, scare, damage, destruction, distrust, uncertainty, hatred, and excessive use of scarce resources to deal with its pernicious aspects.

It is not an attempt at research but analysis. Hence there may not be any mention of statistical data. Someone must conduct research into the economic costs of alternative interventions. Conclusions as to whether the problem should be allowed to fester, deteriorate, and then subject itself to surgical treatment or whether the dialectics can be made more dynamic for a solution to evolve, or whether the simple policy of nipping the evil in the bud by taking preventive measures of conciliatory initiatives, negotiations, discussions, dialogue, and adjustments, which show up even after the surgical treatment, will be valid. India is a poor country and can ill afford the luxury of wasted time and opportunities because of collective ego problems of statehood and the myth of invincibility of the State. One

ought to be concerned with the economics of law and order, and even terrorism. It is relevant. It calls for in-depth study of the whole issue in its various incarnations.

#### Force of circumstances

There are certain factors which must be considered for a proper assessment. These are of two types — those specific to India and the universal ones. The factors specific to India are population growth, tropical climate, and poverty. The estimated population of India is likely to be one billion by the end of the century. 'Death control without birth control — this, in nutshell, has been the population problem of the poor countries,' says Paul Harrison in 'Inside The Third World' (page 220, Penguin Books). There is a cultural lag which prevents the birth rate from falling sharply and soon. 'Death rates drop because of external factors outside the control of individuals. But if birth rates are to fall, people have to change their own behaviour, grow out of the ingrained patterns evolved over centuries' (Ibid). And even if after a lot of effort birth rates are controlled, yet the absolute growth in numbers will be so immense as to make shortages of essential commodities and services inevitable thus causing tensions due to severe competition. There, however, seems to be no immediate respite to the growth of population. This phenomenon has its implications for law and order.

'We live under the tyranny of the tropics, paying heavy toll every moment for the barest right of existence'. These words of Rabindranath Tagore have been quoted by Harrison (Page 21). The curse of the tropics visits the country every year in the form of floods, drought, untimely rains, earthquakes, cyclones,



thus causing immense direct losses to the property, standing crops, lives of people and cattle, disruption in communications and transport, immeasurable misery, delayed projects, etc. and indirect losses in the form of relief works and rehabilitation of those uprooted from their soil. This aspect too has implications for law and order.

Thus the population explosion and the curse of the tropics lie at the root of poverty which may be due to many other factors also – like colonialism, economic distortions, failure of the implementation of land reforms, etc. 'One can distinguish four modes of impoverishment: geographical, where the main factor is a natural or ecological process; social, where pauperization develops out of the agreed ground-rules of the society; economic, where it results from the forces of the market place; and political, where it is imposed by the use of state power.' (Harrison, P 418). To say that India is poor is a truism; to say that poverty has an impact on law and order is a reality. The problems of unemployment, inequalities, the perception of relative deprivation are the bitter realities of existence. The malnutrition of the poor further creates problems that are hard to realize.

Besides the three malevolent forces of over-population, tropical climate, and poverty are the three benevolent forces in the form of technological advances, industrialisation and information explosion. The benevolent forces are independent and beyond control of anyone. These are known and hence do not merit any detailed elaboration. The technological leaps have made possible growth in the transportation sector, industrialisation and revolution in the area of information. There is not only

rapid industrialisation but also quantum advances in the area of traffic and transportation. Information explosion has led to enhanced awareness and widening of the gap between expectations and reality. Even the benevolent forces have an impact on the law and order situation.

All the malevolent factors (over-population, tropical climate and poverty) and the benevolent factors (technological leap, industrialisation and information explosion) have their strange mix in the form of rural tensions on the one hand and urbanisation on the other. The pressure of population on land makes the holdings uneconomical and leads to two sinister results – sale and fragmentation; and depriving the poor of their land through expropriation by force or fraud. 'Paradoxically, the worse the agrarian situation gets, the more powerful the big landlords get and the more distant seem the prospects for reform or revolution' (Harrison, Page 92).

The migration to urban areas has generally been preceded by the 'push factor' in which the poor peasant or labourer is pushed out of his environment by the sheer compulsion of circumstances. Nobody would like to be pulled into the urban areas unless he is pushed out of the rural sector, for people do not want to sever from their environment and roots. So people are pushed out before they are pulled in by the lure of the urban areas.

The tensions in rural areas, whatever be the gloss given to them, are land-based. The communal carnage one hears periodically happening in the rural areas of various corners of the country have their broad economic base, though the instrument of operation either

takes a caste or communal shape. It is the lust for land that makes the perpetrator spread the reign of terror. It is the desire and an attempt to assert that invites a reaction from the have-not group who rally round for sheer survival. Therefore, the battles go on in the shape of carnage here or there. Various interpretations are given by sociologists, politicians, economists. Yet it is a war on the economic front, with some battles raging on communal lines and others as retaliatory expeditions. The Arwal, the Jehanabad, the Kalahandi episodes have meanings deeper than those appearing on the surface. Any facile interpretation would be escapist and self-satisfying and not desire-to-solve-solution-oriented.

Writing on the ecology of poverty, Harrison says, 'All the threats to the land, with possible exception of salinization, are caused by poverty and over-population and, in turn, they accentuate poverty. (134). The dispossession of small holders, increasing landlessness and increasing population have led to unemployment, under-employment, and all forms of misery which feed on penury. All these compel the poor to seek out an existence elsewhere. And migration starts.

Migration for work is an economic compulsion. It gets diverted to cities because there are more avenues for work there. The interactions of people and their dependence upon outside services in the cities create scope for more jobs which the poor are prepared to perform. 'Whenever a poor country that has not got enough work to go round lies next to a richer country that is in need of manpower, this human traffic goes on as naturally as heat flowing from a warm to a cooler one'. (Harrison, P 142). The cooler one in this context is the



urban area, the city, the metropolis, the medium town, or any semblance thereof. 'It is an exodus of epic, historic proportions'. (145 Ibid) There have also been occasions of migration from across the borders, especially Bangladesh.

Having been pushed to the cities, the urban areas exert a magnetic charm upon those who have experienced the penury and deprivation of the villages. They are attracted by the wealth of the cities. The pull factor starts operating. The push and pull factors are two ends of the same continuum. The city seems wealthy precisely because the land is poor, the land seems poor in relation to the city's wealth. It is the comparison that works on the minds of the rural poor' (145-6, Ibid).

The gravitational pull to the cities has been promoted by two other factors. These are the growth in the transport sector and the impact of the media. The one has facilitated the movement, the other has made it more attractive. Moreover, the cities are the islands of privilege capable of seeking diversion of resources, public investments, and government services pertaining to health, education, entertainment, parks, beautification, and other public facilities. It is truly said by Harrison 'Migration is a symptom of rural poverty and of urban over-privilege.' (139)

'Migration, then, is a form of voting with your feet, or demanding a seat at the table where the feasting is going on. It happens because development is uneven and the benefits of growth are so unevenly spread. It is a protest against inequality'. (149, Ibid).

#### Presentations to self

Having surveyed the factors over which there is little or no control, it

is time to consider the heritage we have given to ourselves. 'We, the citizens of India' have bestowed upon ourselves two important creations. These are the Constitution of India and the economic structure.

The Constitution of India gives a political system that is democratic in spirit and action. With its adult franchise and democratic institution of elections at various hierarchic levels the power has really been vested in the hands of the people. 'We, the people' really rule. But the elections have not only unleashed the urges of the people to capture power but also given rise to a sinister nexus between means and ends. The system is resilient, but its offshoot of power politics provides a strange chemical that does not mix well with the harmonious brew.

The anxiety to remain in power leads to distortions in the decision-making process, wasteful expenditures on flamboyant populist schemes designed to catch votes, communalisation of politics in search of power blocs, growth in slums as prospective vote banks and even migrations from across the border and their subsequent patronage in the hope of securing votes. The subscriptions to political parties, the acceptance of funds for election purposes, the party funds and their utilisation, the changing ethos in political life, the desire to sit on the political fence either to blackmail or get privilege of office have robbed the politics of its ethos based upon 'Satyamev Jayate'. Despite the best intentions of the politicians, the tinkering with the problem by extending symptomatic solutions have not shown any impact. Reform in political system is a crying need, but appears to be a far cry. The poll reforms are much overdue.

The malevolent fallout of the

democratic system is like the radiation from the atomic plant which is not to be decried because a Chernobyl can happen. The answer lies in checking the radiation and its effects and make the best of the plant for peaceful and developmental purposes.

The benevolence of the Constitution and its beneficent aspects can be appreciated if its noble ideals are considered in the right perspective. The Preamble of the Constitution is a sheer delight of the management objectives of the Government. The fundamental rights are safeguards of the freedom of the individual, an assertion of his or her dignity, a guarantee against exploitation by the State, group or an individual. The fundamental duties is a set of tentold path for a citizen. And the directive principles of state policy are the guidelines and goals to be achieved in tune with the preamble of the Constitution. What a wonderful network, a fabric, a mosaic of values, rights, duties, aspirations, directions, goals! Much of the recent social legislation has been inspired by the directive principles. Citizens are clamouring for 'an adequate means of livelihood', equal pay for equal work, equal and speedy justice, 'a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life', uniform civil code, rise in the level of nutrition and standard of living, etc., etc.

Noble as the aspirations are, attempts are being made to secure these. There are three methods. First, legislation in some of the areas has been framed. Second, the political parties, when in power, make provisions to secure these even without legislation like free meals for school children. Third the people resort to agitation to secure their rights like the entry of Harijans to temples or the implementation of legislation on



minimum wages or land reforms.

There is nothing extraordinary in these reverberations, though these are sometimes scaring to the law and order manager. The Kisans, Mazdoors and Dalits of the country are up in arms. Their demands may be hyperbolic at times, but to dismiss them as charlatan groups would be playing with fire for there is enough substance in their demands which are in conformity with the tenets of the Constitution – again, the problem of poverty line, minimum wages, or some sort of remunerative prices for farm produce, the right to assert their identity and a revolt against ego-desecration by anyone. Well, these are healthy features in a growing, developing and awakening society. Whatever be the aspects of settlement, the genesis of demands is fault-free though one can pick up a lot of holes in the impossible demands of writing off loans completely or charge-free water and electric supply or other wishful adventures under the rubric of demands.

Besides the Constitution, we have given to ourselves an economic system which is a hybrid of the two systems – free economy with state's restrictions and interventions. It is neither capitalism nor socialism – neither here nor there. Contrary to the popular belief that cross-fertilisation is the best, the cross-economy has not yielded the desired results. The sick public sector undertakings, the artificial restrictions in the nature of licences and quotas which have opened flood-gates of wealth to those who could corner these directly or indirectly through purchases, the suffocation which the small entrepreneurs feel while strangled by a host of inspectors who are uneasy guests and vicious visitors whose visitations cause annoyance,

restrictions, losses, and leakages of sorts, the hurdles faced by a new entrant in business are some of the indications of the sickness of the economic framework. So are the concentration of wealth, widening economic disparities, and soaring unearned incomes.

The culture of corruption has three deleterious effects, besides the intrinsic one of ushering in a corrupt society. First, the evasion and avoidance of taxes is considered more a miracle of ingenuity than an act of immorality. There are clever interpretations and more adroit methods of stalling the process. The top income-tax defaulters read as a national who's who list. Second, there is a constant search for illegitimate sources of income and channels of investment. The benami transactions, the commissions or kickbacks are niches and cushions in the interiors of the economy. Ultimately, the nation suffers. But who bothers? After all nation is something amorphous and you cannot empathise with it.

Third aspect of the present day economic culture is the rise of organised crime – crime as business, and criminal as a professional. The under-invoicing and trading mal-practices are refined organised rackets which do not elicit the ignominy of disapprobation as these are too tricky to be understood by the common folks. The adulteration, deforestation and a host of white collar crimes are less noble and sometimes attract attention. Smuggling of antiques and precious metals is still in the realms of respectability of fine taste, farm houses, elite social connections, and legitimate diversion of funds to religions and secular trusts, furniture business, hotel industry and the like. These activities create an aura of respectability. Yet another

form of organised crime is the job racket due to the lure of a job in the El Dorado of the Middle-East. This has its ramifications in forged passports, smuggling of human beings in secretive dhows, the bonded labour when the passport is seized by the contractor who keeps these people on a pittance. It is a case of an image shattered, paradise lost, dream demeaned and freedom gone. Very pathetic but an aspect of reality.

And the most sinister aspects of organised crime are prostitution, gambling, matka, drug peddling, distillation and distribution of illicit liquor, challenging the prohibition laws by clandestine trade in the prohibited items, obscene literature, etc. They are sinister because the victim is a party to the transaction. There is a nexus between the criminal and victim. The former satisfies some urges of the latter. Says Harrison, 'Calcutta is full of single men. A thriving trade in prostitution has grown up among women factory workers. It is a tragic encounter of their poverty and the men's loneliness'. (141)

#### Change in values

Thus there are certain factors which are 'given', i.e. the malevolent factors (population, tropics, poverty) and the benevolent factors (technology, industrialisation, information revolution) and certain others which are 'taken' (the Constitution of India and the economic system). Both these 'given' and 'taken' factors produce a strange mix of forces which have an important bearing upon the law and order administration of the country. Their mixture creates what Prof. S.B.L. Bhardwaj in an unpublished paper calls transience and turbulence.

All the factors have a definite impact upon the value system, which in its turn has an influence on the



law and order situation. The chief among these is the lowering of the law-abiding consciousness of society. The very character of a squatter settlement is an abnegation of law. It is an encroachment upon public or private land or the spaces used by the public. The power bloc which grows up to defend its right not only to stay on but also extract public conveniences and other municipal facilities is a lobby created to fight a battle for their 'rights' which were no rights in the beginning. And the political patronage it gets from the parties further solidifies the unholy alliance where 'might' is fighting the 'right' and often wins in the end. The humanitarian and economic merits apart, the proliferation of unauthorised colonies is an assertion of the law-abiding consciousness for personal space and is a slap in the face of law and order. Whatever be the reasons, bureaucratic apathy the fact is that someone has succeeded in asserting a right where it never existed.

Though in a different context, Harrison has rightly stated of the squatter settlements, 'They flout property rights. They are illegal or at best outside the law. They are rushed up in defiance of all regulations on planning, safety and public health. They are snub in the face of bureaucracy and authority; an anarchic gesture of freedom.' (174)

The cities are bulging at their seams. Their belly is getting bloated. It has two affects - growth of slums on the one hand and the high rise building on the other. This has given rise to two cultures in the cities; the culture of affluence and the culture of the humpen proletariat. The latter seek a chance to settle scores with the former, and do so whenever an opportunity arises.

Like mushrooms grown in an artificial manner, the citizens in the slums have no roots. They have half-severed their roots in the village. The joint family has broken down to a great extent due to economic pressures and is no longer a bulwark of the weak when he needs protection. There are no social or economic cushions back home. The nuclear family is becoming the norm gradually. Similarly, those who live in high-rise structures are equally unconcerned with their next door neighbours. Everybody minds his own business. People are becoming unknown to each other. Besides, the migratory population of domestic servants, pavement workers, those who live in the yet-to-be-fitted sewage pipes or under the bridges or besides the railway lines are all anonymity incarnate. Anonymity makes the state controls more difficult. The system of police records is in total disarray. Less and less information is available about the activities of the person next door or in the corner. There is a gloss over people's activities. Some of the opulent people have no ostensible means of livelihood. The task of the enforcement agencies in prevention and detection of crime is becoming more and more onerous.

Law abiding conscious is further distorted by the political gamesmanship both inside and outside the house of legislature. What happens inside does get reported, though never seen. The open defiance of law in the name of civil disobedience and the dramatics staged by the so-called leaders with the police are antics which do not inspire discipline among the masses. The methods of democratic protest are getting debased. A student is disillusioned at the example set before him. The elections

to student unions in universities are samples of political vulgarity and irresponsibility. The bandhs, gheraos, and dharnas have an air of intimidation. Massive rallies are exercises in psychological aggression.

'Human beings do not need an evil ideology to make them behave inhumanely, it comes easily to us because most of us exist in a state of self-preoccupation that makes our neighbours unreal.' (Colin Wilson; A Criminal History of Mankind; Grafton; Page 53). It is not a matter of 'evil' but of indifference. People are indifferent to each others problems. A victim of a road accident is not lifted to the hospital due to various fears operating on the mind of a citizen who wants to rescue. The neighbours do not intervene in the travails of a daughter-in-law on the ground that it is a personal family matter. The uncouth Romeo can molest a girl in a bus full of passengers and get away with it. A bunch of hooligans can throw a spanner in the wheels of legitimate activities. The number of good samaritans is dwindling, so are social concerns. People are becoming insensitized to human suffering because either it does not concern them or they have too much of it to the extent that now familiarity breeds contempt.

And hence a search of new images made possible by the media revolution, the soap operas, the commercial ads, the subtle techniques of mind-manipulation. People live in a world of images. This has a few results. First, there is a revolution of dreams and crisis of rising expectations. Second, there is a growing urge for acquiring consumer items thus giving rise to consumerism. Third, there is a desire to shift to the urban centres for it is here that the images of paradise in the form of city life,



cats, cigarettes, two-in-ones, VCRs, maps, cinemas, film stars, the opulence beyond imagination, neon-lights and sodium vapour lamps, are available.

It is the media which spreads news and views and provides concrete images for people to emulate. There is stimulation of artificial demands. The transmission of values by the older generation to the younger has given way to the peer group pressures and emulation. Charles E. Silberman in *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* has captured the phenomenon thus, 'Instead of being part of multi-age, multi-generational family and work groups, the young segregated now spend almost all their time in segregated settings, having contact only with members of their own age group and adults in positions of formal authority'. (page 45) And with the increase in demand of the adolescents for consumerist items both for use (hot dogs, visit to coffee bars, chocolates, jeans, sartorial novelties, personal items of adornment, ice creams etc.) and for kicks (speed through a motorcycle, drugs, intoxicants), the need to keep up with Joneses has created problems in families. 'The adolescent need for money, combined with the weakening of adult social controls, has provided a lethal criminogenic force'. (46 Ibid). The quest to be rich overnight, and the temptation to resort to short-cuts in academic life (reliance upon the quickies in syllabus and problem of copying at the point of knife, the crisis of indiscipline in the universities) and real life are value systems which are not conducive to the maintenance of order and respect for law. 'Crime is essentially the search for the easy way'. (page 61, Wilson *Criminal History of Mankind*).

The mixture of the factors and the

economic system has other aspects which it is necessary to delineate in the context of law and order. These are alienation, asserting of identity, and aggression.

Man is alienated from his soil (the rural problem), the means of livelihood are imposed upon him, he lives on his own (real communication with other human beings is rare), he is an outsider. 'The Outsider is he who cannot accept life as it is, who cannot consider his own existence or anyone else's necessary' (Colin Wilson; *The Outsider*; p. 93; Picador). He is dejected, despondent, and feels himself driven to the wall. He has a 'total sense of non-participation in the society' (Wilson; *Criminal History of Mankind*; p. 447). He is not affected by the travails of others because he is himself surrounded by those. 'The absence of "affect", as psychiatrists call it, is the most frightening aspect of all. In the past, juveniles who exploded in violence tended to feel considerable guilt or remorse afterwards; the new criminals have been so brutalized in their own upbringing that they seem incapable of viewing their victims as fellow human beings, or of realizing that they have killed another person' (Silberman, 83). One of the aspects of alienation is anomie.

Search for identity has become compulsive in the competing world. The alienated persons have a feeling of being heard only if they are affiliated to groups which can assert their voice and secure their rights. The rise of fundamentalism, communalism, group consciousness based upon caste, creed, ethnicity, geographical region are variations of the same theme and highlight the urge to assert one's point of view, have a say in the matter, a share of the cake. This is also finding expressions in the voluntary groups that do not hesitate

to take law in their hands, a sort of vigilantism outside the bonds of legality.

And one automatically gets into the realm of aggression. There is growing violence in society. There is violence in the air. There is violence in crime, protest, assertion of right or a view-point, seeking of goals. People live in fear of being a potential victim. 'Members of the new generation kill, maim and injure without reason or remorse' (Silberman, 4). This is confirmed by Colin Wilson. 'Asked if she thought the killing of eight people (Mason murders) was unimportant, Susan Atkins retorted by asking whether the killing of thousands with napalm was important'. (630 Ibid).

'The development of weapons is of considerable psychological interest, since there is a vast difference emotionally between slaughtering an enemy at a distance, and attempting to kill him at close quarters. Nevertheless, traces of inhibiting mechanisms do remain in that many humans recoil at kicking an enemy when he is down, or will ever feel pity for, and extend help to a wounded opponent. All forces of this 'decent' behaviour disappear, however, as soon as a moderate distance is interposed between contestants. Anthony Storr (*Human Aggression*, p. 152). 'Distance' may not only be physical but also psychological. As Anatol Rapoport has pointed out in his *Strategy and Conscience*, 'the human faculty for abstraction removes the content of a problem and enables the strategist to discuss nuclear threats and counter threats as if human beings were not involved at all. The new word 'megadeath' may be useful in abstract strategic discussion; translated into the actual experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki it becomes an obscenity.' (Ibid, Page 152-3). Thus



distance makes abstraction possible' He concludes: 'The invention of weapons which kill at a great distance combined with man's capacity for abstraction is one great threat to human survival' (153)

## Terrorism

It is in this context that terrorism is a greater menace than ordinary violence. Terrorism is a sort of surrogate war which is 'increasingly guided by remote control' (Robert Kipperman and Durrell Trent, *Terrorism: Concept, Reality, Response*)

Terrorism is 'warfare by proxy by Government'. Great care is taken by concerned governments not to leave any trace. Terrorists are men and women on the run. Without outside help they could not have possibly displayed such coordination and logistical sophistication'. (Ibid)

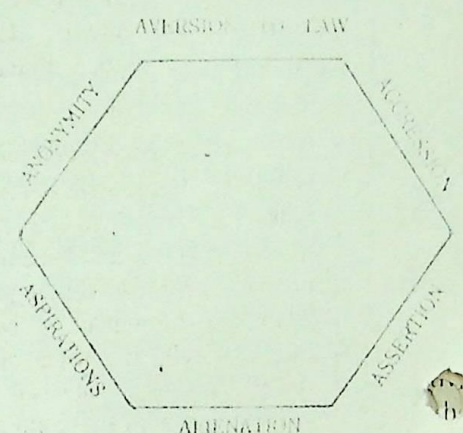
In order to understand the threat of terrorism it is necessary to dwell upon its tactics. First, it is ironical but correct to say that a terrorist is a sly operator who takes advantage of vulnerability of the system, strikes at the innocent people, at the most improbable targets and places, and takes adequate precautions to conceal his identity. He is a 'hit and run artist' who plays the game of hide and seek. He selects targets with minimal risks and maximum attractiveness. The victims are chance selections - air passengers (Air India's Kanishka), visitors to terminals, hotels, public transport, restaurants, or bazars. Second, the methods of striking terrorism are dramatic in impact and create a scare. Bombings, assassinations, hijacking, mass disruption or destruction of vital installations are the high-drama acts that create shock and fearwave in the community. These incidents also elicit the maximum media publicity which is the biggest

sustainer of the terrorist movement. Third, one of the strategies of terrorists is to create an alienation between the enforcement agencies and the public by creating a climate of suspicion, repression, and thereby chain-reaction. Terrorism leads to stricter controls by Police, harassment of the public, a bit of over-reaction, sometimes an act of over-doing, ego-hurt of the innocents, and then a reaction in the form of hostility, animosity and distrust towards the enforcement agencies. Fourth, terrorists try to cripple the criminal justice system by personal attacks upon police officers, magistrates, witnesses, suspected sources, jail officials, and any other person who is a part of the system.

Terrorists also try to direct their operations in such a way as to cause distrust among the communities and make them hate each other to the point of defending themselves and even aggressing against the other at the slightest provocation. This is a sleight-of-hand trick which the gullible people are a prey to. This is a dangerous process which is both the cause and effect of communalism graduating into fundamentalism. The retaliatory action or potential thereof in any event which is liable to be misinterpreted is what makes confusion worse confounded. The rumour plays its part. Credulity is affected by ones emotions. Assessment of events is jeopardised into fanatic reaction. The terrorist mischievously defiles the religious symbols with the object of fanning passions into interminable wrath and inter-communal violence. This trick of the terrorist is most dangerous and must be guarded against.

Thus an aversion to law, anonymity, spiralling aspirations, alienation, assertion, and aggression are some of

the same hexagon. They are variations of the same theme and merge into each other like a network with intimate influence. Terrorism is only a culmination of the process that has increased crime and conflicts, both of which are difficult to control in the wake of the hexagonal trends indicated below:



The chances of a criminal being caught are getting reduced. In the race between the cop and the robber, the criminal is always ahead of the enforcement agencies in ingenuity, resources, and chicanery. Leon Radznowicz and Joan King refer to 'the opportunities of undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of crime opened by modern mobility, both geographical and social. Abundant temptations to transgress are reinforced by abundant chances of permanent impunity'. (The Growth of Crime P. 73). The criminal takes adequate precautions to frustrate the 'scientific aids' to investigation. He conceals his identity, does not operate in the jurisdiction where police records are likely to be maintained, and leaves no traces of his identity in an anonymous mass of people.

Coupled with this phenomenon are the indirect costs of corruption which breeds disrespect and disdain for law. 'Public corruption makes an



especially sinister contribution to criminality by providing an excuse and rationalisation for its existence among those who commit crime.... As long as official corruption exists, the war against crime will be perceived by many as a war of the powerful against the powerless; 'law and order' will be just a hypocritical rallying cry, and 'equal justice under law' will be an empty phrase. Quoted by Silberman from National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. (p. 62 Ibid).

That the government teaches the people by its example is illustrated by Silberman thus, 'Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a law-breaker, it breeds contempt for laws, it invites every man to become law unto himself; it invites anarchy ....' (Ibid). This is a universal truth and more relevant in the context of fighting crime and terrorism.

Part of the terrorism is ascribed to acts of groups who intend achieving their goals through any means, including foul ones of violence, disruption, damage, and the like. But it is difficult to label activities. One man's terrorist is another man's patriot, reformer, liberator. That which was terrorism yesterday gets condoned in the form of an accord. It only suggests that the so-called terrorists had some points to be made, all of them being not illegitimate. In this context it may be facile and cover-up explanation to suggest violent reverberations in some States as acts of terrorism. There may be legitimate fears, demands, aspirations, and wrath at the failure of the administration to deliver what was someone's right. It is a matter of perceptions. The whole phenomenon requires detailed examination and not a waste-paper-basket treatment by putting a convenient label of this

being a law and order problem. However, so long as it continues it has pernicious impact upon the life of people, trade, commerce, growth, planning and all the developmental projects. It has to be dealt with whatever be the merits of their claims. However, criminals also do take advantage of such movements and operate under the camouflage.

Terrorism is both a manifestation of crime of the heinous type and disorder at a large scale. It feeds on fear and diverts the attention of the law enforcement agencies from dealing with enforcement of law and preservation of order for the larger good. In a terrorist situation, all the energies are

diverted to fighting its menace which may sometimes amount to swashbuckling in the dark when the terrorists are planning their next moves or smiling in their sleeves. There are the immense strains caused upon the public exchequer, human effort, and people's patience.

### Challenges

These then are the challenges to the law and order administrator or administration herein after called LOA. Before proceeding further it is useful to have an over-all view of what LOA has to face. An analysis in the matrix form makes understanding convenient.

FACTORS	BENEVOLENT MALEVOLENT	POPULATION	RURAL EXODUS	AVERSION TO LAW	TURBULENCE	CRIME
		TROPICS				
		POVERTY				
		TECHNOLOGY	URBAN SPRAWL	ANONYMITY		
		INDUSTRIALISM				
		INFO EXPL.				
CONSTITUTION OF INDIA		POLITICAL SYSTEM	RISING EXPECTATIONS	ALIENATION	TERRORISM	DISORDER
		ASPIRATIONS				
ECONOMIC SYSTEM		RELATIVE DEPRIVATION	ASSERTION	AGGRESSION		
		ACQUISITIVE NESS				
		ORGANISED CRIME				

The challenges, it is clear, are spread over a wide range. These cover crimes of all types; disorder created by the traffic problem on the one hand and processions and assemblies on the other, besides the riots, agitations and protest marches which contribute to the spatial maladjustment on the roads and cause inconvenience to the people. The maintenance of order requires immense resources of time, money, manpower and diverts attention from the focal tasks of development. These also cause direct



loyalty of the wage earners, shopkeepers and other trades whenever there is cessation of activity in the form of a bundh. The range of challenges also includes subversion, insurgency and terrorism. And not the least, the spectrum runs to the direction of implementation of various legislative measures inspired by the directive principle and aiming to secure the objectives of the preamble of the Constitution. All these challenges are spread over both the rural and urban areas. Sometimes, the impact of the rural tensions finds a vent in the urban areas, the nation's metropolis not being spared in the form of Kissan rallies sponsored by various torch-bearing parties for their causes.

#### Holistic view

Since the theme is law and order administration, it is pertinent to deal it on a national level. Though law and order is the state subject, yet it has been observed that Centre's intervention in dealing with terrorism is imperative because of the command of resources - para-military, financial, diplomatic and other infrastructural facilities. Moreover, the various intelligence gathering, research and analysis organisations are the children of the central government. So are the countries top investigation bureau, protection group and what have you.

Beside the support, the administration has to consider the impact of the various developmental schemes, policy of population control, human resources development, implementation of the social legislation and land reforms. These may be termed as software aspects of management compared to the hardware of force and equipment. The software must also include the policy on urbanisation. The National Commission on Urbanisation has also addressed itself to urban tensions, violence and disorder.

besides 'the dimensions of urban poverty' and a host of other issues.

If law and order is any priority, and there is no reason why it should not be because it is basic to development, growth, progress, human dignity and all that is contained in the preamble to the Constitution, then the Centre will have to exercise a hawk-like monitoring vision. It has to gauge the sensitiveness of acts of omission or commission by various sectors of the economy, polity, and administration. It must ensure co-ordination between the concerned Ministries of the Central Government and linkages with the state Governments. This holistic approach must also be adopted by the state government both at the ministerial level and with the grass-root administration of the district and so on.

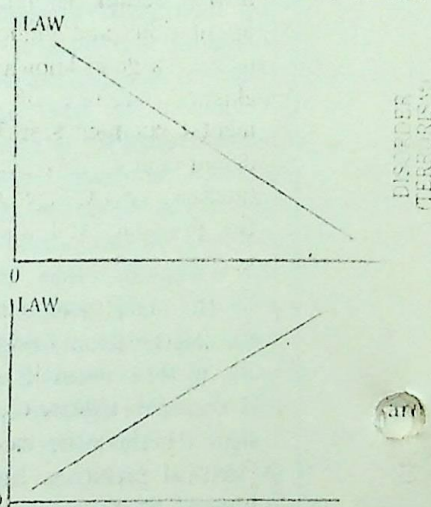
#### Praxis

How is then law and order to be administered? The basic issue is the administration of law and order. But what is administration? Christopher Hodgkinson in 'The Philosophy of Leadership' says, 'Administration is philosophy-in-action. Philosophy is daily translated into action through the device of the organisation. How? In a sequential two-fold way. By means of administrative processes which are abstract, philosophical, qualitative, strategic and humanistic in essence, and by means of managerial processes which are concrete, practical, pragmatic, quantitative, technical and technological in nature.' (page 26). It is thus a combination of the philosophy of administration (policy making) and science of management (policy implementation) that can deliver the goods.

To deal with the multifarious problems of law and order, both 'will'

and 'skill' are necessary. At the macro level it is the will that is required. Where there is a will there is a way is an axiomatic proposition. But given the will, there is no problem which is insoluble and no impediment which is insurmountable. Colin Wilson states 'In our human era, these horrors stand out and we draw the lesson: that to be truly human demands a real effort of will rather than our usual vague assumption of mutual concern'. Five thousand years ago, no one made that assumption; they were governed by the law of xenophobia and recognised that mutual concern only exists between relatives and immediate neighbours'. (p. 53, Criminal History of Mankind).

Before proceeding further, it is useful to appreciate two relationships. First, there is an inverse relationship between law and disorder including terrorism, and a positive relationship between law and order. More of law



means less of disorder or more of order. And more of disorder means less of law. It is as simple as two plus two makes four, and equally significant because it is true.

Second point to appreciate is the relation between fear and freedom. John Alderson in his Policing Free-



dom states, 'There is in most people the desire for both freedom and security; and although these two conditions are not incompatible they can be in conflict if either is taken too far.' (Page 15)

There is thus a relationship between law and order on the one hand and freedom on the other. 'Where there is no law there is no freedom. For liberty is to be free from restraint and violence from others', quotes Alderson from Locke's *Treatises of Government*. (57 Ibid).

#### Skills

The skills required to deal with law and order fall in two parts (a) talents of the administrators (b) efficiency of systems. An analysis of both parts will pinpoint the training inputs required for the LOA (law and order administrator). The LOA will have to be an individual of many parts with talents for taking a broad view of things, conceptualisation, appreciation of values, and a philosopher indeed before action is taken on proper orientations and guidelines. LOA has to have a good knowledge of ecology, ekistics (science of human settlements), economics, jurisprudence, and demography. This will enable him (includes her) to have an over-view of the problems and their possible linkages.

He will also be able to appreciate the legislation and even participate in the process when it is either at the conceptual stage or the stage of incubation because he can highlight the practical problems. Nothing is more harmful to the law-abiding consciousness of the people than the existence of dead laws which are unimplementable. 'It is the fundamental lesson of history that the existence of unenforced and unenforceable laws in a community will automatically produce individuals who will take advantage

of their weakness, and that these individuals will combine their efforts and activities and unite in groups, or gangs, and quickly become a menace to the peace and liberty of their neighbours.' (P. 264. *British Police and The Democratic Ideal*; Charles Reith; Oxford Unity Press).

The talents of 'understanding' have to be matched by skills of 'doing'. The systems triumph in the long run. For want of a proper expression, one can hazard a slogan 'Systems Jayate'. The systems must be woven in the process of management, i.e. the policy implementation. There has not only to be a method of doing a thing, but a refined and an efficient system for two reasons: (a) resources are put to optimum use; (b) nothing important in the process of management or doing a thing is lost sight of; in other words, a sort of a check list. This is real professional approach which does not depend upon intuition and everybody trying to invent a wheel or discover a zero but one which attempts to build upon past experience and a method of refinement, a system of learning lessons from mistakes and incorporating improvements in the check list. It is a method of documentation, communication, and monitoring so that the whole management is on the same wave-length of operation.

#### Criminal Justice System

Both in the context of law and order and for dealing with terrorism, a refinement of the criminal justice system is an imperative. There is a scathing comment on the system by Paul Harrison. In almost all developing countries, the institutions of the law prevent equality before the law .... legal form is one of the principle obstacles to the poor obtaining justice within the 'Third World'. (379-80). What is worse is 'The local

police frequently ignore the landlord's violence and law breaking. They are only likely to intervene if the poor defend themselves or retaliate. Police are usually on the side of the privileged ... In any case, his training will have taught him certain stereotypes. Crime, to the typical policeman, is essentially the violation of property rights by the propertyless, not the assertion of excessive or illegal property rights by the propertied. A police presence is usually enough to quieten the poor; but if they resist, then public order itself, the very authority of the state is challenged and the troops may be sent in'. (381) However, where the state does not come to the rescue of the dispossessed, the latter plan out their own course of action.

The private armies, the proliferation of senas, the staggering number of cases pending in the courts, the poor investigations, the poor prosecution, the rising rate of acquittals, the maladministration of the jails, and the almost non-existent probation and rehabilitative services and agencies are aspects of the malaise and the hollow bricks of the crumbling structure.

The task of the LOA is to seek not only refinement in the working of the various institutions but also some degree of co-ordination so that functional hurdles are overcome without in any way jeopardising the independence of the various wings. It must be appreciated that the nineteenth century legislation (Police Act of 1861) will not be able to deal with the problems of the twenty-first century. The policing system based upon this structure has already proved inadequate for the late twentieth century problems. The law abiding consciousness of the society must be increased as a conscious measure through educational inputs



and example by politicians and leaders through a code of conduct.

### Emphasis upon focus

The sights of the LOA have to be clear and specific. There are no better guidelines than the preamble to the Constitution, the rights and duties of citizens and the directive principles of State policy. The trouble arises when the objectives are blurred and out of focus. Who can deny the objectives of law and order to be to secure justice, liberty, equality, and promote fraternity, and assure the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation?

The LOA is not a mason. He is an architect who has the totality of the plan in view. But when the edifice is under execution, he has to ensure that it conforms to the plans. To that extent, he has to be manager of reforms which are sought to be achieved through legislation that is the sum-total of the aspirations of 'We, the people of India'.

### Management of cities

Directly related to the law and order, are the problems of rural exodus, urban sprawl, festering slums, growing confusion on the roads due to increase in traffic and transportation and the attendant problems of accidents, congestion, pollution and indiscipline on the roads. Where a large number of people are on the move, the flow of people and vehicles have to be managed. Traffic management has become a specialisation. Transport system is an important aspect of management of flow, urban tensions, of commuters, and road accidents.

In metropolitan areas, the flow of the processions of all types and the containment of the people at various spots have to be organised. The popu-

larity of sports and the growing size of the stadia with increasing frequency of events have caused strains upon the law and order administration and its resources. It is no longer a simple management of thoroughfares, melas and ghats as conceived in the Police Act of 1861. It is now the case of management of huge congregation of people at the stadia, near a river or on a ground. The Kumbha melas are growing in volume. The order maintenance tasks of administration are on the increase constantly. Every community vies with the other in celebration by means of a procession on public roads, not to speak of the competitive processions brought out by political parties as show of strength.

### Management of contingencies

In a tropical, poor and an over-populated country the wrath of gods in the form of floods, droughts, earthquakes, and cyclones is well known. Either the rain is too much or too little. Tropical weather is always extreme, never moderate. Added to these natural calamities are man-made ones. Bhopal is an example. A Chernobyl here can be a nightmare. And a riot just happened, sometimes out of thin air, in a place where the atmosphere is vicious and polluted by air of distrust.

The LOA has to play a vital role in the management of contingencies for various reasons. First, it is the only agency which functions round-the-clock, especially the police. Second, it has the resources of communications (wireless) which are necessary for management. Third, it has the power to control the people. Fourth, it has a duty to protect the victims' life and property. Fifth, it has the managerial capability to operate and bring about the co-ordination, and provide the

necessary support and other facilities.

Besides dealing with the onslaught of the malevolent factors, LOA must attend to the pernicious aspect of the media glut so that the adverse impact is kept at bay. It may be difficult, but the LOA has to be sensitive to the trends of ads, the contents of the TV coverage and glossy magazines, the crisis of rising expectations, the literature and movies that pander to the message of violence and exploit sex.

### Dealing with terrorism

Terrorism is the biggest challenge to LOA. The ingenuity, resilience and strength of the administrator is on the test. It is an albatross around the neck which has to be lived through for the time being with stoic patience and courage of an adventurer. Dealing with terrorism requires dealing with terrorists, the general public, and the institutions of the state.

The counter-measures are prevention by denying access to terrorists to the society's critical nodes and vulnerable targets through a combination of denial and protection. Besides, the efficient response to a terrorist incident by proper command and control, and offensive initiatives based upon intelligence and operational network are necessary. There also include containment, i.e. 'emergency measures taken to delimit the terrorist act in a physical sense and to "decouple" it in a psychological sense from the intended political consequences' (Kupperman and Trend) as well as 'actions to delimit damage and provide emergency healthcare and restoration of the situation to normal in a particular area. This is all easier said than done. But it has to be done.

More important than the hardware type of counter-measures are the management of confidence of the



people. Though belated, yet recent to create a willingness in the people initiatives in Punjab have borne the to accept the precautions in the results. The strategies to ensure that interest of general good, like inoculation of public spirits do not drop to levels of tion or vaccination during an epidemic communal disharmony, apathy, fear, mic. People may similarly begin to psychosis, and the like are a few time- 'endure a check-in' usual that tested ones. First, the people must be includes hand searches in carry-on informed that time will triumph. luggage, minute scrutiny of passports, There is no short-cut to success and rigorous quizzing of passengers against terrorism. Anyone who gives about the contents of the luggage. false hopes of easy solutions does a (173, The Master Terrorist; Yossi Melman, Sidgwick and Jackson). lot of disservice to the people and Nothing avails more than the sagacity further complicates the matters. This and goodwill of the people. The whole does mean a test of people's patience; one has to live through it with a community who must sense of positive fatalism, i.e. though- terrorism as a matter of course and learn anything-can-happen-to-me, yet-it- to live with it. No flamboyant solution may-not. Second, every incident of exercising it with state power alone brings with it a trail of rumours and can win the battle in the long run. suspicions. Belief in rumours can bring success to the terrorist's cause in geometric proportions. Rumours on the murky skies. Both have been have to be curbed, dealt with, and indicated by Yossi Melman. First, countered by all possible means "Terrorist violence ... has always through a credible media approach reached dead ends. Individual terror and the co-operation of the media has never achieved its ends. It has killed rulers, liquidated symbols of operators. This also includes curbing power, executed innocent, disturbed or suppressing, by voluntary resignation, the temptation to dramatise peace and tranquillity, but has never killings or damage because publicity suc- cessfully dispelling rumours. One is the pabulum of the terrorist, it is shock. Abu Nidal's light. He cannot undermine the state's foundation, but can disturb its harm it, and damage its vital interests. (page 145-6). At home, there are glaring examples of terrorists throwing out and seeking or agreeing to negotiations and accords.

Second: "Why is it that unconventional terrorism has not spread any further? ... Why has this not happened until now? ... The answer is evidently that the terrorist entrepreneurs are not always any more innovative than the governments and the states against which they are fighting. In other words, terrorists too tend to be conservative. ... In certain methods and means which they repeat." (209)

Another aspect of administration-public interface is that the LOA has

Besides preventive and psychological measures, the LOA has to ensure the strength of the institutions of the criminal justice system. That objectives have to be achieved through the methodology of law is the hallmark of a civilised government. The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, The Terrorist Affected Area (Special Courts) Act, the National Security Act, etc. are legal initiatives which are better than the eye-for-eye approach and haphazard acts which annoy rather than assuage. These are required to fill in the gap created in the normal system which goes by rules of evidence that is not forthcoming due to fear. The LOA has to ensure their balanced use so that the citizen's human rights are not jeopardised and become a subject matter of Amnesty International's censure. Whatever has to be done must appear to pass through legal channels and sieves. LOA has to build up the confidence in the institutions of system, strengthen them and make them fully operational.

Another important aspect is narco-terrorism which is a combination of the supporting forces of drug traffic, smuggling and terrorism. LOA has to be concerned with this phenomenon seriously. The vicious triangle has to be broken both at macro and micro levels.

#### Conflict management

Conflicts are inherent in a society. They can neither be suppressed nor eliminated. It may even be difficult to resolve all conflicts. But these can be moderated and reduced to a great extent. It is important for LOA to accept their existence and not brush them under the carpet. There are various seeds of discontent which grow into weeds of conflict. The capitalists vs the workers, the low-



paid employees vs. the employers, the trade union activities, the poor position of strength. demanding their rights, the denial of facilities and the demand of people to secure those, the various forms of protest, the pressure groups are all indications of the conflict situations.

The resolution of conflicts in the north-east, the fresh positive initiatives to resolve the Babri Masjid - Ram Janm Bhumi issue, the extension of the Law Commission to examine the issue of Law and Poverty are healthy attempts to recognise the need for management of conflicts. The role of mediators, third party intervention, dialogue and negotiations is to be prized.

The popularity of accords provides a valid hope that conflicts can culminate into conciliations provided a search is made consciously. There are few important rules for conflict management. First, doors of communication must never be closed. Dialogue must go on. Second, there must be no losers in the game. Both the sides must have a feeling of success though remorse is a matter of society and a personal obligation. Third, the ego considerations must not be permitted to come in the way of the overall national or community's interest. Fourth, the best strategy of conflict control is that of 'catching conflict young'. Fifth, the constructive process of conflict resolution which ensures full and open communication is superior to competitive process. This includes perception of similarity in values, acceptance of the other's legitimacy, problem-centred negotiations, mutual trust and confidence, and information sharing. (This point is taken from Conflict Management - Problem Solving Ed. by Sandole and Sandole - Stavostek; Franc - Pinter; London). Sixth, before conflict is resolved, it has to be

contained with calmness, courage and

At a micro-level, the LOA must get in touch with the organisers of the protest groups so that ground rules can be laid, avenues of mutual help explored, channels of communication in time of need established, contact on the ground is maintained and adherence to the agreed norms sought for. Such liaisons are always useful and facilitate understanding and smoothness of the protest, rally or a march. It opens floodgates of trust and elicits the necessary co-operation from the 'other side'. This helps in conflict avoidance.

Conflict management thus includes conflict containment, moderation, and resolution. This is a democratic process in a situation where no one can claim infallibility of opinion or a position. It involves all and drives none to the corner. Patience, persistence, openness, goodwill, and, above all, calmness are important. 'Hostage-taking is the only type of case that I am aware of in law enforcement - the military where 'doing nothing is a positive thing ... Here it would be very tempting to do something, but that is a little right backfire. Obviously, if shots are heard and bodies are coming out of windows, then 'something' has to be done, but that is not a typical situation. What is typical, once contact is established and the process begins, is that the negotiator will tend to succeed'. (p. 101 of Sandole - Stavostek).

At the micro-level, the management of conflict involves avoidance or sorting out of inter-departmental problems, jealousies, protocol, lack of spirit of helpful initiatives, and standing on procedural formalities based on letter rather than spirit of rules. The LOA has to

work out acceptable methods of obtaining co-ordination. It is a very delicate task, but a necessary one for the success of the administration, committed to the general good and welfare of the people.

### Filling up 'Social Blanks'

Satish Saberwal (OUP) in his study *India: The Roots of Crisis* has analysed the growth of the 'mega-society' as a result of techno-social order in which the railways on the one hand and bureaucracy on the other 'facilitated the enlargement of the potentially effective scales of social relationships' (page 3). As against this phenomenon, there is 'the multiplicity of codes in contemporary Indian society' which is due to (a) 'the juxtaposition of the unified code of European extraction with competitive Indian style of functioning'; (b) 'the variety of segmental codes within Indian society', associated with caste, social categories and religion; and (c) absorption of 'diverse other codes - or styles of functioning - 160: Ideologies of militant protest against oppression and exploitation, real or imagined in white or form; patronage and loyalty; reciprocal exchange in network relationships; and so forth.' (p. 27).

Saberwal's thesis is: 'The maintaining and renewing of a mega-society calls for a range of institutional capabilities whose weakness or absence among Indians I shall call 'social blanks'. I shall suggest that these social blanks may account for India's difficulties with the task that history has set it.' (Page 4)

There are, therefore, institutional inadequacies which have been referred to earlier also. The task of LOA is to identify these and take corrective measures both at the macro and micro levels. The roots of

crisis have to be tackled firmly.

Law and order administration is acquiring the will and managerial peace and economic growth, the the management of turbulence skills for the achievement of resource allocation for the law through institutional framework given set in the Constitution of India. enforcement agencies must find which must be refined and strengthened. Maintenance of order and support from the Plan funds. 24